NATIONAL
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## The Inside Story

# The Secret in the Pumpkin

By JAMES ARONSON
*Executive Editor*

THE Great Pumpkin Spy Melodrama of the last ten days is now generally conceded to have been carefully stage-managed by the lame duck House Un-American Committee in an 11th hour effort to extend its life into the new Congressional session.

However, the Hallowe'en hullabaloo in the press over the affair has served to obscure the main point of the ten-year old documents involved.

The main point is that these documents — as far as their character and content have been revealed — serve to prove that U. S. diplomacy in the years preceding the outbreak of World War II was actively engaged in appeasing Hitler at the same time that our nation, along with Britain and France, refused to join in collective security action with Soviet Russia against Hitler aggression.

This sort of dynamite, contained in the microfilm documents of the Great Pumpkin Melodrama, is undoubtedly what impelled the House Un-American Committee to "break" the story at this time in an effort to embarrass the Democratic administration.

This is also the apparent explanation of the Administration's reluctance to let the contents of the documents be revealed, in the face of Rep. Mundt's "dare" to President Truman that he order them made public.

EVEN though the documents have not been made public, enough of their implications have been "leaked" to outlets sympathetic to the House Un-American Committee to give some idea of what they contain.

The N. Y. "Daily News" played up one such "leak" [illegible] week in a copyright story which declared:

"These supposedly high secret diplomatic messages showed that we were playing along with the Chamberlain appeasement policy, and at the same time we were telling the Russians that they should string along with the western powers to stop Hitler."

### Prelude to War

Hearst's "Journal-American" (N. Y.), also apparently on the inside track to Committee "leaks," reported:

"Many of the documents related details of secret trade agreements with the Nazis. . . Officials feared these deals with Germany might have repercussions in the current negotiations over the future of the Ruhr. . . .

"One was said to be a message revealing the belief of former Secretary of State Hull that the U. S. should stay clear of European affairs and not oppose Hitler's Anschluss with Austria. This message was dated Feb. 15, 1938."

The Hitler Wehrmacht invaded Austria one month later.

THE "hands-off" policy revealed in the "leak" to the "Journal-American" apparently had far-reaching effect. Soviet Russia at that time had just sentenced several high officials for connivance with Germany and Japan. On Mar. 17, 1938, it took the initiative in trying to bring about action by the other great world powers against Axis aggression.

While these negotiations stalled along, Britain and France signed the Munich Pact and in March, 1939, Hitler's armies swallowed up Czechoslovakia.

On July 21, 1938, Japanese armies crossed the Russian border in Siberia, engaged in a serious clash with Soviet troops and were badly beaten.

Among the documents involved in the Pumpkin Mystery, according to the N. Y. "Herald Tribune" (no friend of the Committee), was one dated June 13, 1938, which "confirmed the prospects of Russia entering into a war with Japan." In other words, our State Dept. may have had information of intended Japanese aggression at least a month in advance of Japan's move against Russia.

The House Un-American Committee questioned former Under Secretary of State Sumner Welles, and then credited "a former high government official" with testimony that certain of the stolen documents "undoubtedly contributed" to the Nazi-Soviet pact.

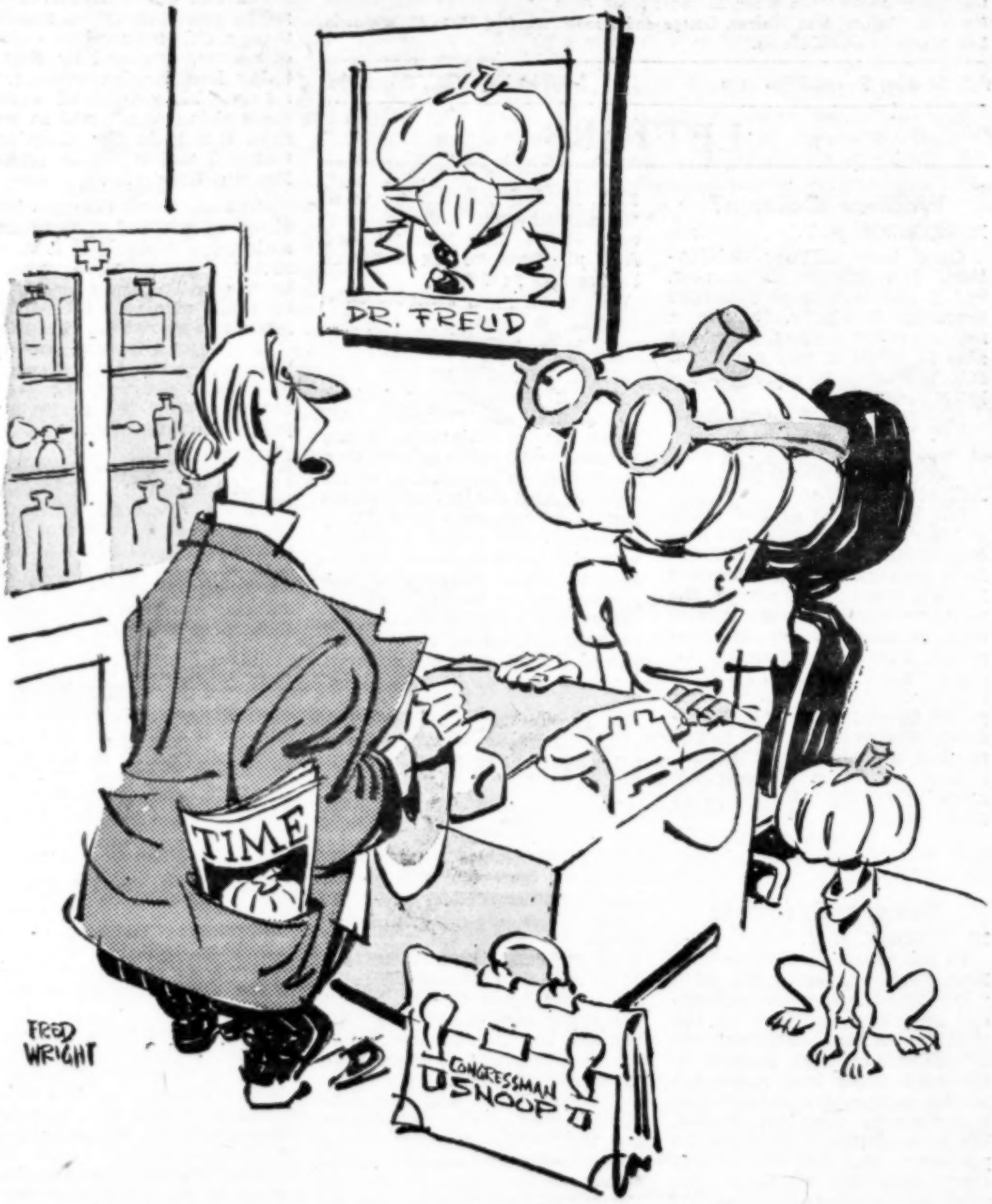
AMONG the documents, according to the N. Y. "Star's" Washington correspondent I. F. Stone, was one dated July 21, 1937, bearing the notation: "Handed to the German Ambassador by Mr. Welles."

"If there was something in that document handed the German Ambassador likely to facilitate a Hitler-Stalin pact," Stone commented, "one may be sure that the Germans did not depend on Soviet spies to get the news to Moscow.

"Salesman Ribbentrop had a suitcase full of just such samples when he went to the Kremlin."

The Russians and Germans signed their non-aggression pact in August, 1939. If, as the Hearst paper comments say, the documents reveal "secret deals with the Nazis," they confirm suspicions that the West, as indicated in its public actions, was playing a double game with Russia.

Of course the Germans and Russians maintained an intelligence service here just as the U. S. did in their countries. But apparently our own State Dept. was officially forwarding such information faster than "spies" of any foreign power might pilfer it.



"Everywhere I go I see pumpkins, Doc."

THE FARMERS ARE SICK OF THE BACK SEAT
by
Elmer A. Benson
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THE HOMECOMING OF LI MING
What Chiang's Defeat Means to a Chinese Peasant
by
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# LETTERS

## Wallace Column?

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

Good luck to your publication. It's fine as it is now, but if you ever have a chance to make it bigger, include a movie review section. It would also be swell if you could get Henry Wallace to write a weekly column.

**Paul Schiffres**

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## No Compromise

ATHENS, W. VA.

Let me be one of the many to offer best wishes for the success of NATIONAL GUARDIAN. As a progressive and a teacher I know the importance of the written word. Truth cannot and should not be compromised. It is quite necessary for students of history to have recorded before them facts giving them the deeds and misdeeds of the day. Thank you for the offer of hope and for letting us know we are not alone in our fight for tolerance and peace.

**Arthur Madonick**
*Concord College*

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## Progressive Vets

NEW YORK, N. Y.

In the article on AVC in your Nov. 29 issue, the spirit of a "wake" which your correspondent described was true for the first day of the convention but is misleading with respect to the high hopes and spirit felt by all progressive veterans at the close of the last session. We progressives were licked on platform and officers nearly every time but to do it, the national leadership and its caucus had to resort to fraudulent credentials, stacked proxies and wholesale suspensions and expulsions.

It is our feeling that progressive strength, which rose from 30% in 1947 to 44% in 1948, is truly representative of the nation's vets, and will grow, even with the emasculated AVC platform, to the status of leadership in 1949.

**Jack M. Bash**

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## What About It?

TORRANCE, CALIF.

The AVC convention decided to purge all "Communists" from its organization. Every veteran who is against war, against high prices, for better housing and for progress seems not to be welcome in AVC.

Is anybody doing anything to make the Veterans for Wallace a regular veterans' organization, or is it going to die before it's born? Are we going to wait until 1952 to organize the 18,000,000 veterans to fight for their rights? Thousands of veterans have refused to join the present organizations because their organizations have nothing to offer them.

**C. B. Noogan**

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## Crawfish

MARTINS FERRY, O.

Truman's campaign speeches led voters to believe that, in the event of his election, there would be a housecleaning in Washington; that Forrestal, Marshall, and others of their ilk would have to "git." Now it's being said that "they will remain for the present," but no one knows how long that "present" will last.

Truman came out for outright repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act. That is now being watered down to a hint, nothing more, that the Act will be "amended," but doesn't say in what direction.

The proposal to enact an excess profits tax, whereby more of the tax burden would be lifted from those least able to pay and laid upon those most able to pay, is also being soft-pedalled on the ground that such a tax would "hurt business" to an extent which might result in a "business stagnation," "recession," and possibly a major depression.

All signs thus far indicate that the Democratic Party is on the verge of starting the old army game of crawfish. Meanwhile time marches on and time alone will tell the tale. Progressives, gird your loins for a battle in '52.

**George F. Curry**

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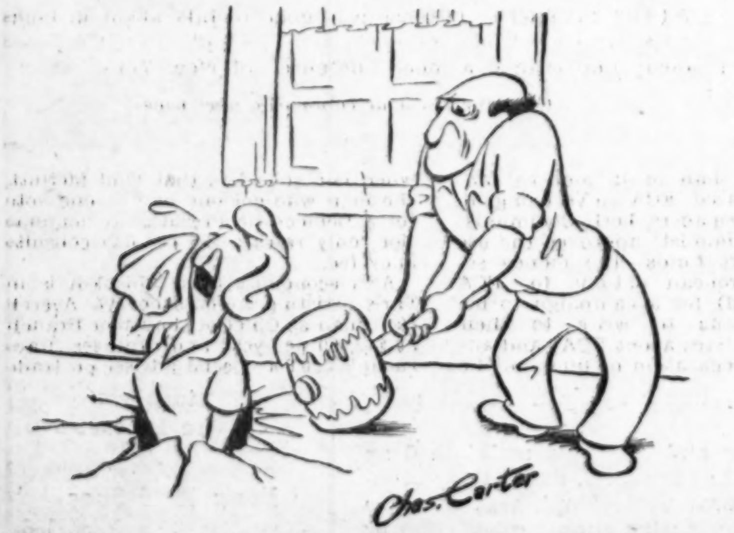
## Guns or Houses

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

The people have to be made aware that Mr. Truman will not fulfill any of his election promises unless the people exert their pressure. In addition, a "cold war" program with its large appropriations for armaments and Marshall Plan aid to Greece et al. precludes a progressive domestic program. There just aren't enough millions for guns and houses.

**Sidney Bagelman**



"George! You struck me."

*Richard O. Boyer*

# The Meaning Of Treason

THE poor man's patriotism has ever been the rich man's treason.

Socrates, now universally held a good and wise man, was executed as an enemy of the state. The Jesus Christ who said that a camel might pass through a needle's eye more easily than a rich man might enter heaven, was also, of course, executed by that type of man who today honors him while attempting to lynch others. Thousands of early Christians with their vision of a world in which the poor were first, if only in the Kingdom of Heaven, were tortured and killed as traitors to the ancient Roman Empire.

Thousands of Communists today with their vision of a world that belongs to all mankind and not the wealthy few, of a world without racial discrimination, poverty or war, have been executed from Greece to Brazil to China by those who still believe that force and violence is the answer to progress.

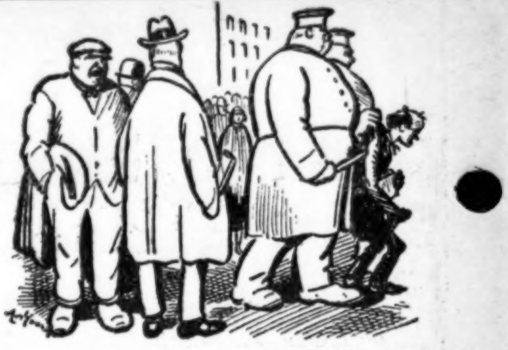
It never has been and never will be. The human cry for justice has never been stifled by blood. Violence, legalized or otherwise, directed against the progress of history, cannot prevent its fruition.

NOWHERE is it more evident that the charge of treason is reaction's answer to progress than in American history. This is perhaps natural in the annals of a nation founded on revolution. It is perhaps inevitable in the history of a country whose primary and initial document declared that when a government becomes destructive of human needs "it is the right and the duty of the people to alter or abolish it."

Reaction's cry of treason always rings loudest when property is threatened. This democracy was born amid such cries. The charge of treason steadily rose to a crescendo during the thirty years before the Civil War when the Abolitionists and Free Soilers sought to expropriate, and did finally expropriate, the nation's most powerful class of $3,000,000,000 worth of private property in the shape of 3,000,000 human beings owned as slaves.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, as was once well known, was deemed a traitor by the world's powerful, and he knew, if his descendants have forgotten, that he was in danger of a dishonored death with a halter about his neck if the Tories instead of the people were victorious.

Thomas Jefferson, he who cheerfully recommended a little rebellion now and then and said that the tree of liberty needed to be frequently watered by the blood of patriots, was called a traitor and indeed formally held to be one with all the majesty and authority that the foremost government of the world could muster. Under the Alien and Sedition Acts scores of his followers were later framed and imprisoned as traitors, as representatives of a non-existent international plot, led by revolutionary France and bought by French gold.



Drawing by Art Young

**"What's he been doin'—overthrowin' the Gov'ment?"**

William Lloyd Garrison, that gallant fighter for the abolition of Negro slavery, who said, "My country is the world. My countrymen are all mankind" — this Garrison was twice imprisoned, dragged through the streets of Boston with a rope about his neck, and for 30 years described almost daily in the nation's press as a traitor to his country, eager for its dismemberment, anxious for its downfall.

RALPH WALDO EMERSON was howled down and prevented from speaking against slavery by a mob which shouted "Traitor!" Henry David Thoreau, who spent some hours in jail as a protest against paying taxes to a government which upheld private property in human beings, was termed a traitor when he spoke in defense of John Brown who was hanged for treason in 1859 because of his Harper's Ferry attempt to free the Negroes.

Abraham Lincoln, too many forget, was described as a traitor by half the country's press until he was shot and killed by one who believed him so, but not until he had proclaimed "the revolutionary right" of the American people "to dismember or overthrow" an iniquitous government.

When Eugene Debs spoke for peace during the First World War he was imprisoned as a traitor. When American labor after World War I moved for wage raises, its demands, as in Boston and Seattle, were termed revolution. The Palmer raids imprisoned 6,000, forcibly and violently, on the grounds that they were believers in force and violence.

As a part of that drive the innocent Sacco and Vanzetti were legally murdered becau they had the audacity to dream of a wo in which reason and not violence and pro were the rule.

AND now today, other voices speaking for peace are once again called treasonous. Like the Bourbons, American reaction forgets nothing and learns nothing.

**RICHARD O. BOYER has been a European correspondent for "PM," editor of "U. S. Week," and for years a regular contributor to "The New Yorker." This article is an excerpt from his new pamphlet, "If This Be Treason" (New Century Publishers, 832 Broadway, 10c). Mr. Boyer is a member of the Communist Party. Comment on his statement from non-Communist progressives is invited.**

## Common Sense About Words

### Democracy

YOU would never think, reading the papers today, that "democracy" had been so well defined for Americans as **government of, for and by the people.**

If the people want "free-enterprise" capitalism, as most Americans do, then it is democratic that they should have it. If they want hot dogs they should have them too. But that doesn't make democracy the same thing as capitalism or the same thing as hot dogs.

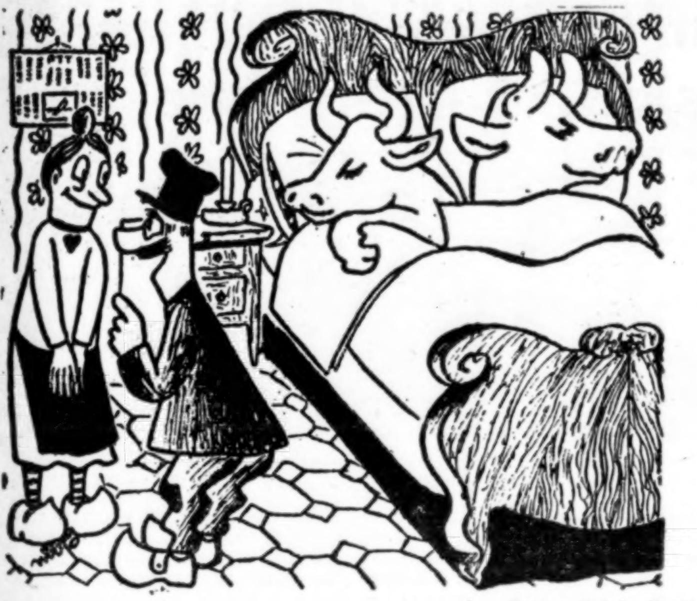
There are many countries where most of the people want socialism. If their government is democratic, they get socialism.

In every country, most of the people want peace and abundance. Each has the right to go about getting them as it thinks best. Making war on another country whose system is different, but is what most of its people want, cannot therefore be democratic in any sense.

**A real democracy is one in which the people know the facts on which to base their opinions, actions and votes.**

The test of a democratic election is not the appearance of two or more names on the ballot. In Leonia, N. J. (see story on page 10), as in eastern European countries, the people think they can do better by getting together before the election, considering the qualifications of the vario candidates available, and agreeing on a single slate which th election will ratify.

# THE NATION



France Hebdo, Paris

"With the price of milk and beef where it is you have to be careful with them."

## The Milk Scandal

**By Tom O'Connor**

RIGHT out in front of the season's souped-up lobbying campaigns is that of the Dairy Industry Committee, national propaganda arm of the big milk distributors and milk products manufacturers. Presession "get acquainted" meetings with Congressmen and Congressmen-elect are already under way. Generally they take the form of sumptuous luncheons or dinners to which the milk dealers in the major cities invite their local Congressmen and lecture them on what a great food milk is and how little profit there is in selling it.

**PEAK PROFITS.** The dairy industry is big business—one of the top five manufacturing industries. Two huge companies, Borden and National Dairy, dominate it, both in the distribution of fluid milk and the manufacture of dairy products like cheese, butter, ice cream, evaporated and powdered milk.

Their profits, which even at the worst of the depression were substantial, since the death of OPA have climbed to record highs. The Dairy Industry Committee's job is to keep Congress, the state legislatures and city governing bodies from interfering with those profits.

**VERY NOURISHING.** Right now this is no cinch. The dairy industry is having a spot of trouble, peculiar to itself and stemming from the extraordinary system under which milk and milk product prices are set.

The system is too complex to explain in brief compass, but its net effect is to push the entire burden of high farm costs on to the fluid milk consumer. This leaves surplus milk available at a low price for manufacture into milk products; and the profit margins on the manufactured products, partly because of the ease of market rigging, are tremendous.

Borden and National Dairy, despite their own propaganda about the essentiality of milk to proper nutrition, could view the tremendous increase in fluid milk prices since the war with equanimity. The more the fluid consumer was priced out of the market, the more mlik was available for use in the super-profit end of the business, manufacture of milk products. In 1946, '47 and '48, per capita consumption of milk decreased sharply all over the country as prices went up; but the profits resulting from this underconsumption were greater than ever.

**LOST DREAM.** Two things are now beginning to change the picture:

- Consumption of fluid milk has fallen off to the point where unit costs of the milk handlers are beginning to rise. This sort of increased cost is harder to pass along to the consumer than increased farm costs; there has appeared a real danger that the milk companies might have to cut into their "spread" to compensate for it.
- Rosy dreams of a Marshall Plan killing have failed to materialize. In anticipation of heavy exports of cheese, butter, evaporated and powdered milk, the manufacturers piled up heavy inventories. ECA purchases were not made in anything like the anticipated quantity, and further manufacturing became a risky gamble instead of a smooth road to profits.

Until those inventories can be disposed of, we can therefore expect to see the milk trust seeking to lower fluid milk prices to the consumer—only to the extent, of course, that the decrease can be taken out of the hide of the farmer.

### *Milking the Nation*

"BUSINESS is bad. They are not eating cream. They are not drinking milk. They are not buying butter. They are not buying cheese." This just about sums up the chatter in the milk and dairy products market.

Each month the Market Administrator's reports announce a further decline in the consumption of milk. October represented the 24th month, with a single exception, in which the consumption of fluid milk declined. The October decline was almost 11,000,000 lbs (51,150,000 quarts).

This situation must be very disconcerting to certain college professors who have long advocated the theory that the demand for fluid milk is static and that you cannot price this product out of the market.

There are two ways of restoring this purchasing power. One is reducing the price to the consumers by adopting more efficient methods of distribution. The other is to reduce the price to the consumers by deducting the total amount of the reduction from the farmer's milk check. By the looks of things today, the last method is in the process of application.

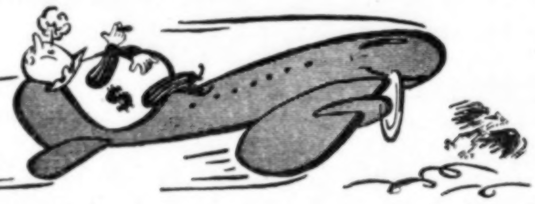
**Meyer Parodneck**
in the Northeastern Union Farmer

## WEEK'S ROUNDUP

## The Oil Lift

PROFITS have something to do with policy, Sen. O'Mahoney (D - Wyo.) concluded last week. He said: "The air lift to Berlin is good and desirable. But the government has to make huge purchases of high octane gasoline to keep those planes in the air. Certainly the tremendous profits of the oil companies have some relation to this spending."

This "loyal opposition" was more loyal than opposed to the rearmament program. O'Mahoney is the ranking Democrat in the joint Congressional subcommittee investigating the profits of big business. Like the group's chairman, Sen. Flanders (R - Vt.), he made formal obeisance to the official religion of anti-communism, before inquiring into what he termed "unprecedented profits" reaped from government arms purchases.



**HAPPY DAYS.** The rearmament program continued to make friends in the same circles Sen. O'Mahoney was investigating. Into GUARDIAN's office last week came a letter from the Marathon Corp. of Wisconsin, manufacturers of paper products. Addressed to stockholders, it read in part:

"There is every indication that the Preparation for Defense program will be in full swing within a comparatively short time, which means that the requirements for this program will be superimposed on civilian requirements. Just what this will amount to as far as we are concerned has not yet been determined, but it appears that we will have something approaching the 1940-1941 condition to deal with. At that time you will recall that the demand for our products increased very materially."

**LATE FOR LUNCH.** Those who came late to the gravy bowl complained. Rep. Ploeser (R - Mo.), a lame duck, said: "There exists a concentration of participation in foreign aid business in the hands of a few giant companies to the virtual exclusion of small firms."

Shippers also were jockeying for a place at the trough. Originally ECA rules provided that 50% of all shipments be made in U. S. bottoms. Last week ECA proposed to cut down on U. S. ships because of high prices being charged. Most drastically affected would be smaller independent lines which have been carrying most of the coal and wheat. Big subsidized lines will continue to carry their full loads of cargoes termed "high values."

Not only the small lines but the seamen protested the move last week. Joseph Curran, president of the National Maritime Union (CIO), said he did not believe the Marshall Plan was set up "to create hardship here at home." Curran is a staunch supporter of the Marshall Plan.

## Mock Defense

**NOON PATROL.** Defense was good to talk about in business circles. When earnest civilians took war talk seriously and staged a mock "defense" of New York, results

*Continued in wide column on next page.*

## LABOR'S ERP STATESMEN

**By James Haddon**

WASHINGTON

LABOR'S "statesmen" are finding meal tickets in the Marshall Plan. Good paying jobs, high consultants' fees and ocean voyages are the payoff for the AFL and CIO hierarchy's support.

Front man for the CIO in the Economic Cooperation Administration is Clinton Golden, who draws $15,000 a year. Golden recently returned from Athens where he was a labor advisor to the U.S. Mission. Bert Jewell, Golden's AFL counterpart in ECA, is another $15,000 a year man. Theodore Silvey, who performed odd jobs at CIO Headquarters, has moved over to ECA as an administrative adviser at $10,305.

George Meany, James Carey and Arlon Lyons are the AFL, CIO and Railway Labor Executive Assn. representatives, respectively, on the ECA Public Advisory Board. They each receive $50 a day for their services.

The Advisory Board usually meets once a month to rubberstamp Administrator Hoffman's actions. The Oct. 27 meeting was typical. The board approved Hoffman's letter to the President proposing allocation of all ECA funds in 12 rather than in 15 months; approved increased ECA advertising in European newspapers, both Communist and non-Communist; approved the use of counterpart funds (the money set aside by European nations for ECA goods received) for a campaign to induce Americans to write to their European relatives about ECA; and approved the preparation of films on the American way of life for Europe.

The Anglo-American Council on Productivity provided ocean voyages at $50 a day for Leland Buckmaster, president of the CIO Rubber Workers; Harvey Brown, president of the Machinists; Lee Minton, president of the AFL Glass Bottle Blowers; and Thomas Harkins, assistant chief engineer of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. Not bad when one considers that Paul McNutt, the man who got one half of one vote for a Democratic Presidential nomination, only rates a $25 per day consultancy fee.

AFL economist Boris Shishkin is in Paris assisting Ambassador W. Averell Harriman as Chief of the Labor Branch at $12,000 per year and expenses. Harriman's $10,000 special adviser on trade unions is David Saposs, a protege of James Carey who has in times past been a "friendly" witness before the House Un-American Committee.

The overwhelming endorsement of the Marshall Plan by the AFL and CIO Conventions comforted labor's "statesmen" in the ECA. They like their jobs. Its highly respectable work and it pays well.

## WEEK'S ROUNDUP

*Continued from wide column on preceding page.*

were less heartening.

Last week an atom bomb was assumed (for the sake of practice) to have fallen in Manhattan's Herald Square, right outside Macy's. Everything within a radius of 10 miles was destroyed, everything within 15 minutes was termed "fatally radio-active."

Emergency plans called for 50 Civil Air Patrol planes to rally at dawn, at a New Jersey airfield, bring the Red Cross in, and fly "survivors" out. "Survivors" were to be picked up by CAP throughout northern New Jersey.

Dawn came but not the CAP. All morning CAP cadets turned up at the airfield, eager to help "survivors" out of the craft, keep back the crowds. When no planes came, quick-thinking lieutenants lined the cadets up in formation and put them through setting up exercises. The Red Cross canteen served doughnuts.

By 2:30 in the afternoon 19 planes had showed up. The "survivors" in Jersey's hills have not yet been located.

### Quill's War

"DECIDE first and talk about it later" was the order of the day at last week's convention of the Transport Workers Union at Chicago. Background of the convention was President Michael Quill's war against the left wing. This was to be the showdown. Convention schedule, following standard procedure, called for elections on the day before the convention closed.

But before delegates could catch their breaths, Quill eliminated voting for executive vice-president by abolishing the post. That was the job of Austin Hogan, Quill's prime foe.

Next went the post of international organizer, held by John Santo, another anti-Quill man and one marked for deportation in the government's anti-red drive.

**THE AXE.** Then in a noisy night session Quill called for elections. Some cried "steamroller." Some cried "democracy." Some were bewildered, but they voted for Quill and Quill's men.

After the elections the axe came out again. Where Quill couldn't attack his opponents, he abolished their jobs. "We're firing some from the right, some from the center, but all from the left," he shouted. "The CIO will be proud of this. Phil Murray will be proud of this."

And so Phil Murray was. Not until the shooting was over did he wire the convention his greetings and "congratulations."

**SOME WALK.** It took the delegates two days to recover. At the week-end, Quill had a fight on his hands. The delegation of the union's third largest local, 101 of Brooklyn, composed of utility workers, walked off the convention floor to protest the steamroller.

The powerful Florida delegation threatened to go home, too, because, they said, they had proof Quill was trying to maneuver their president out of office. Quill made frantic gestures to pacify them. Other delegations were slowly recovering.

Impervious to shouts, protests and appeals to parliamentary law from a sizable but inadequate minority, Quill pushed through a new constitution which provides that no one who agrees with Communists in any significant respect can hold any office in the union, even that of delegate. The president hereafter will have power to "interpret" the constitution, to hire and fire organizers, to oust local leadership when recalcitrant.

Quill announced that he would press for a $2 minimum hourly pay on New York transit lines, that it would mean

*Continued in wide column on next page.*

## THE NATION

# UAW Raiding Sister UE Union With Collusion of the Bosses

**By Alex Leith**

**Jack Sario, Robt. Pagnotta, Joe Rosato waiting to testify against UE at House Labor subcommittee hearing on Oct. 5 in New York.**

LEADERS of the United Automobile Workers (CIO) are today engaged in a raiding operation against a sister union, the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (CIO).

UAW locals are set up in opposition to UE locals. UE shops are hi-jacked by UAW organizers. Raiding tactics follow the classic pattern of red-baiting and collusion with employers.

That the UAW of militant and principled tradition should be involved in these unsavory hi-jinks is the result of 18 months of collaboration with big business in the Marshall Plan and a year's knuckling under to the Taft-Hartley Act.

The raids officially began last March when the UAW's executive board, meeting in Chicago, decided to "liberate" UE members from their chosen leaders. These leaders had opposed the Marshall Plan. They had also refused to comply with the Taft-Hartley Act.

**HOW IT WORKS.** If the Marshall Plan issue provided the UAW leaders with a political motive for raiding, the Taft-Hartley Act gave them their opportunity. This is the law with which they press for plant elections and certification as the collective bargaining agency.

**DE LORENZO, GUILTY GETS 30 DAYS IN JAIL**

The first raids were aimed at UE local 475 (Amalgamated Machine, Instrument & Metal) in Brooklyn. Following the Chicago meeting, the UAW chartered a Brooklyn local which had no members. This local—770—was to be the UAW corral.

The raiders followed all the standard rules for dividing a union's membership. Their only new argument was that the UE, because of non-compliance with Taft-Hartley, is unable to service its members, an argument refuted by $137,000,000 in wage increases chalked up by the UE in 1948 in the electrical industry alone. (The CIO convention also recorded UE's 7% membership growth during 1948—biggest of any major CIO union).

**COMPANY TIME.** In every shop where the UAW has a foothold, it operates with company blessing. In the Mergenthaler Linotype Co., the raiders were given an office and telephone in the plant. In the Parker-Kahlen Co., they were given the company's mailing list. Eagle Electric Manufacturing Co. turned over its loudspeaker system to the raiders to make their speeches on company time. Metropolitan Device Corp. blew the whistle for a surprise announcement that the employees were now members of UAW. Members of UAW shop committees were everywhere given the run of the plant; their frequent absences from the work bench were viewed indulgently by foremen and supervisors.

In Mergenthaler Linotype, now in the UAW corral, the entire UAW shop committee attended the company's time-study school and, upon graduation, went forth as missionaries of speed-up in the plant. The workers of Mergenthaler have not had a contract since the UE agreement expired July 19.

**REUTHER'S RAIDERS.** These are the leaders of the UAW raiding parties:

**Thomas V. De Lorenzo,** also known as Harry Posner, James Harris, Sid Traurig; has a criminal record which includes 15 arrests, ranging from vehicular homicide to assault and battery. He has confessed to dodging the draft.

**Jack Sario,** former UE official who was fired by the union for corruption.

**Joe Rosato,** fired by the union for incompetence and venality, discovered trying to borrow large sums of money from the very employers he was supposed to be fighting on shop grievances. In one shop he was supposed to service, the Anzell Specialty Manufacturing Co., he ran up a bill for supplies, then refused to pay.

**Robert Pagnotta,** accused in an affidavit by 46 employees of Sanitary Dash Manufacturing Co. of lying, illegal tampering with contracts, failure to take up grievances, open collaboration with the employers. Similar charges have been filed by employees of Muray & Sorenson.

**William S. Abernethy,** secessionist leader in the American Machine and Foundry Co. The company went to court to break its UE contract. Their petition stated: "The UE 475 Committee attempted to negotiate with the company relative to certain alleged grievances. . . . The Abernethy Committee has not notified the company of the existence of any grievances."

**Sidney Mason,** production manager of U.S. Metal Products Co.

**Matty Miller,** who conspired in the secession from UE while he was on the UE payroll.

Success of the raids depends on whether the raiders can head off workers' unrest over mounting grievances, deteriorating conditions in the plants and a stubborn UE resistance.

### Buttering the Gun

THE philosophy of a war boom was enlarged upon in an Editorial in the Wall St. **Journal** of Dec. 8 thus:

"This 'guns instead of butter' economy was most spectacularly unfolded to the world by Hitler and his phrase maker Dr. Goebbels. . . . They said they were protecting themselves and western Europe against Bolshevism.

"They also said they were making Germany prosperous. They made quite a point of the fact that they had found a condiition of unemployment and unrest and by putting people to work making armaments . . . they had produced activity.

"But regardless of what Hitler and Goebbels said, the judgment of history is that they were preparing for war. They almost certainly meant to do just that. But if their intentions had been otherwise, the strong probabilities are that the internal stresses and strains created by their managed economy would have forced them to find an outlet in foreign adventure.

**"Are there footprints on the road on which we are being directed? If there are, who left them there?"**

MIRROR
REDS GET MOSCOW GOLD

# THE NATION

*Elmer A. Benson*

## Take Note of the Farmers—They're Sick of the Back Seat

DEWEY took the farm vote for granted, and he was wrong, dead wrong. He said practically nothing about farm problems and confidently sat back waiting for big business backers to deliver the votes.

Both the Republican and Democratic platforms talked of "flexible" price supports for farmers, which is like talking about "flexible" minimum wages for workers.

Truman himself had damned Congress before the campaign started for not making supports more flexible and less meaningful. Instead of 90% of parity, he had recommended an immediate cut to 70% of parity.

But Truman did blame the 80th Congress for weakening the farm program and he promised vigorously to protect the farmers against betrayal of the price support pledges. The election returns proved not that the farm voters trusted Truman but that they distrusted Dewey.

**FARLEY'S GAME.** Many a time I urged New Dealers to pay more attention to the problems of the farmers. I believed we could break the GOP-Dixiecrat bottleneck in Congress by taking the fight to the working farmers. Jim Farley had a different view, however, and his political ideas stayed on throughout much of the Democratic Party machinery even after he took a walk. As boss of New York State, Farley played the old political game of balancing the city vote off against the country vote. He insisted that the Democratic Party should be a "city party," which in effect meant leaving the farmers at the mercy of the Republicans.

For more than 50 years, the farmers have had little voice in national politics. Ever since the defeat of the Populist revolt, they have been pushed around by the trusts, which have brazenly financed the election of reactionary representatives in the rural areas and put words in the farmers' mouths.

**NO FIGHT.** Even the farmers' cooperatives and their farm organizations have all too often been captured by the enemy. Instead of speaking for the farmers, the leaders of these organizations often turn out to be paid apologists for big business—johnny-on-the-spot when it comes to putting over anti-labor measures but nowhere to be seen when price support promises to the farmers are being violated.

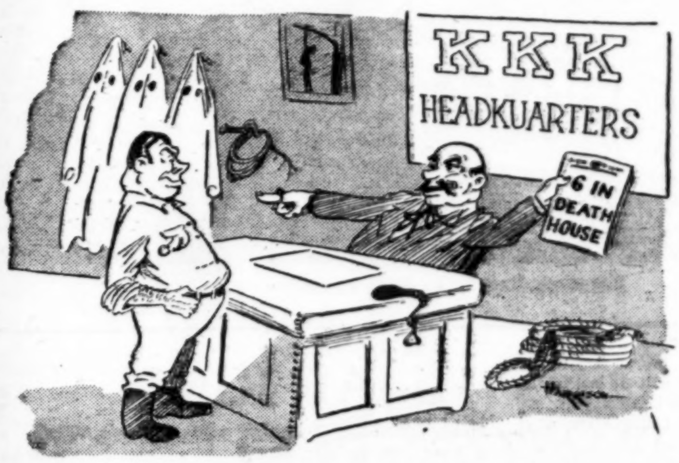
None of the national farm organizations put up a real fight when the 80th Congress weakened the price support law, and none of them spoke out in clear-cut fashion when grain growers had their crops stolen this year at below-support prices. Some corn farmers, who had to sell their crops on the open market, received only half the price they were supposed to get according to the law.

**PROGRESSIVES, NOTE:** Even the National Farmers Union, whose membership supported a progressive program, seems to underestimate the temper of the farmers. Its national office has gone along with the Marshall Plan, and instead of speaking out sharply on the recent failure to hold farm prices above support levels, its board issued a statement just before the elections proclaiming "our firm support of the present bi-partisan agricultural policy."

I believe it is significant for the Progressive Party to note that farmers are not wedded to reactionary GOP policies.

Already there is alarm among farmers that the Truman administration will not deliver. Secretary of Agriculture Charles Brannan abruptly dropped price supports on potatoes down to 60% of parity for 1949.

**ELMER A. BENSON,** *former Minnesota Governor and U.S. Senator, is chairman of the National Committee of the Progressive Party.*



*"Send an organizer up to Trenton"*

**The six Negro men of Trenton spent another week in the death house, awaiting a hearing on their appeal. They were sentenced to die last September for a murder they could not have committed. There is proof that their signed confessions, only evidence against them, were extracted by beatings and intimidations.**

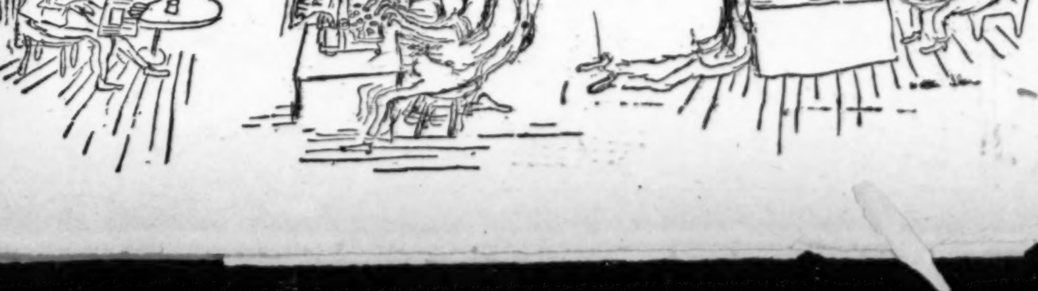
### Dim View

"LOOK for Geee Beee—the lamp bulb that stays brighter, longer," the radio commercials bleat.

This is what the Dept. of Justice had to say about GE bulbs, in a recent anti-trust suit in Trenton, N.J. (civil case 1364, decision pending):

GE conspired to cut the life of flashlight bulbs by two-thirds. This letter, taken from GE's own files, was placed in evidence.

"Two or three years ago we proposed a reduction in the life of flashlight bulbs from the old basis on which one lamp was supposed to outlast three batteries, to a point where the life of the lamp and the life of the battery . . . would be approximately equal. . . . If this were done, we estimate that it would result in increasing our flashlight business approximately 60%".



**WEEK'S ROUNDUP**

*Continued from wide column on preceding page.*

no fare increase, and that it would not mean a strike. Then he thought it time to adjourn.

## 'Obvious Conspiracy'

**INSOLUBLE.** The TWU convention was one reaction to the recent CIO convention. Another reaction came from the United Farm Equipment Workers Union, which had been ordered by the National Executive Board of CIO to dissolve itself into the United Automobile Workers within 60 days. (Se UAW story, page 4).

The FE is in the hands of its members, said the FE Board. Any action would have to wait for the union's convention, slated for March. The CIO's ultimatum would expire in February. The FE Board termed the CIO action "an obvious conspiracy to destroy a duly-chartered and long-standing international union of the workers of the farm equipment industry."

**ALL QUIET.** The West Coast waterfront was quiet last week. This was the score after the great strike: Longshoremen won a raise of 15 cents an hour and kept their hiring hall; radio operators won 10% wage boost; engineers, 5.3%; cooks, stewards and firemen, $20 a month more. Longshore chief Harry Bridges didn't bother with a non-communist oath. He won anyway.

## Civil Liberties

WHILE fireworks flared about the Maryland pumpkin stuffing, the routine inquisition by Federal loyalty boards ground on. The Civil Service Commission reported last week that 13 months of investigation resulted in the loss of jobs for at least 434 Federal employees. Of these 51 were fired; 383 resigned under investigation. Uncounted were those who resigned rather than submit to the loyalty quiz.

**100 MORE THINGS.** Run-of-the mill witch-hunting also produced a new installment of the House Un-American Commitee's pamphlet series. This one, titled "100 Things You Should Know About Communism in Education," reports this plot against your child: "They mean to take him from the nursery, put him in uniform with the hammer and sickle flag in one hand and a gun in the other and send him out to conquer the world." Curriculum of Communist schools, according to the report, includes courses in "factory sabotage, bomb making, kidnapping, train wrecking, mutiny, civil warfare, espionage, infiltration and other methods of wrecking a country."

**LIMP INTO ACTION.** In Georgia Amy Mallard, who had watched a band of hooded white men shoot her husband dead, swore out a warrant against one of the white men whom she recognized. County and state officials had declined to act on her charges, but consented to give her police protection if she wanted to come out of hiding in order to sign the warrants.

Even then the police made no effort to bring the men in. Six, including the one identified by Mrs. Mallard, walked with supreme confidence into the station house. Police couldn't help book the one Mrs. Mallard recognized. They also held William T. Carter, 18, and his sister Angelina, 13, two Negro kids who were with the Mallards when the lynching occurred.

**OPPRESSED MAJORITY.** In Perrine, Fla., there are 316 Negro voters, 27 white voters. A Negro would have a chance to win in an election for the City Commission. Grocer Ben Shavis entered his name because, he said, "he felt like there ought to be a colored man in there." Last week Shavis dropped out and took a train for Hasting, Fla.

Rev. A. D. Coleman, Negro Republican committeeman from the area, publicly declared threats had been made against Shavis' life by "enraged white citizens of the community."

Two days after he left Shavis returned. He said: "I talked it over with the Lord and the Lord told me to withdraw."

# The Un-American Boys at HOLLOW PUMPKIN FARM

HALLOWE'EN came late this year. The witch-hunters had such an election hangover they didn't come to until an hour after midnight on Dec. 2.

In the still darkness of that night Whittaker Chambers (till last Friday a senior editor of **Time**) and William A. Wheeler, investigator of the House Un-American Committee, crept toward the garden of the Chambers farm near Westminster, Md. They eluded 23 OGPU agents bent on the same mission and fell upon a pumpkin. (Mr. Wheeler, asked later to describe the pumpkin, said without blinking: "It looked like a faceless jack o' lantern.")

They removed the removable lid of the pumpkin and took out of its hollowed interior several tins of microfilm of 1937-38 State Dept. documents. Under a hail of invisible OGPU bullets they raced to safety with the microfilm.

*How's that, Inspector—you say the documents were smuggled out of the State Dept. for the Russians in 1938? Chambers told the Un-American Committee five different times that he left the Communist Party in 1937. How come? Where were they all these ten years? Did the Russians get them?*

OH, SAID Mr. Chambers last week. Did I say I broke with communism in 1937? How silly. It was 1938; yes, of course, "about the second week in April." The Russians never got a smell of those documents, Mr. Chambers added, not without feeling. (This is so confusing. Isaac Don Levine, who has befriended and been the literary ghost of almost every Russian who has seen the light — from General Krivitzky to Oksana Kasenkina — says otherwise. With his background as Mr. Chambers' father-confessor, he called reporters in last week to tell them about the special suitcase in which the Russians sped the film by air to the Kremlin's maw.)

Mr. Chambers said the documents had been left with "a friend" all these years. The helpful Mr. Wheeler explained why Mr. Chambers had not turned them in before: "He is a Quaker, you know, and he didn't want to hurt anyone."

*You say the chief Russian spy's name was Boris Bykov, Inspector? Sure sounds like a Bolshie. What happened to him—the papers don't say. Purged? Natch—Bloody Joe don't take no chances. They called him Peter, didn't they, and he was introduced to Chambers by J. Peters? Ha. 'Peter, Peter, pumpkin eater, had a . . .' Oops, sorry, Inspector."*

YES, it was quite a week. They fished Rep. Nixon out of the ocean to fly him back to Washington. He was on a ship heading for Panama, apparently to look into the Un-Panamanian situation. (But where was the committee chairman, J. Parnell Thomas? Poor old J.P. was under wraps. He faces a kickback rap. No pictures, no statements, no nothin'. What a dog's life!)

The Un-American boys chased up to New York, had several wild rows with the U.S. Attorney. Rep. F. Edward Hébert of Louisiana, Un-American Committee member, said after one row about leaks: "Popping off at the mouth is an awful disease." Following is an extract from the official transcript of the Un-American Committee hearings last summer:

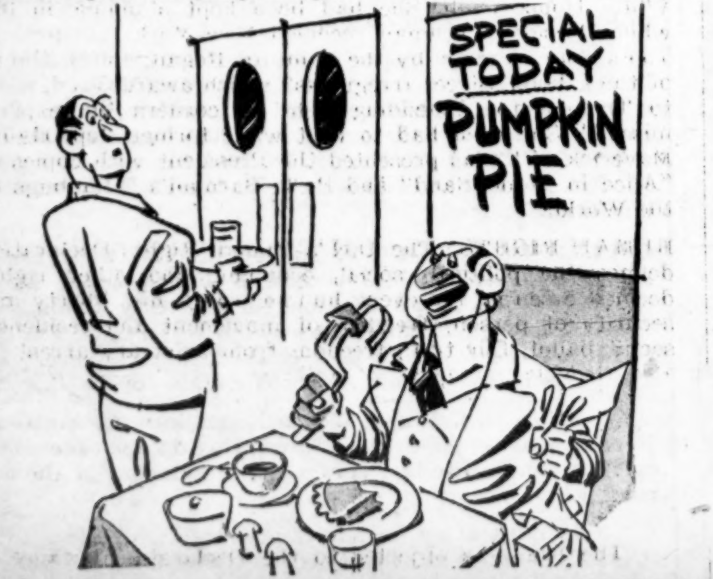
**Hébert**: Isn't it a fact that there are many saints in Heaven who were not always saints?

**Chambers**: I believe so.

**Hébert**: We would not take their sainthood away from them after they have become saints and repented, not saying, you understand, that you are a saint, now mind you.

**Chambers**: I am not a saint, indeed.

*O.K., Inspector, thanks. But there's one thing I'd like to know: Does Chambers grow pumpkins on his farm, or did they have to plant the pumpkin too?*



Ha! Microfilm! (Fred Wright)

## Other People's Lives

# The Homecoming of Li Ming

NIGHT fell over beleaguered Tsinan. The cannonade had stopped. In the damp basement of a bombed-out warehouse, dead tired soldiers dropped to the bare stone floor and slept.

Li Ming alone was awake. He had volunteered for the most important mission in his life. He was to persuade the keeper of the East Gate to let them slip out—him and other buddies from his regiment—while the guards were changed. Li Ming lay listening, waiting for the street noises to die down.

"This may be my last night," he thought. But he was 21, a fearless old veteran, and determined to go home.

He hated this civil war. What was the fighting for? To keep Chiang Kai-shek and Big Landlord Wang in power?

Wang was the boss in his hsien (village); he owned most of the land and skinned the tenants. The Li's, like other poor families, worked for him at starvation wages.

If one had to borrow money for a funeral or a wedding, one had to go to Wang's bank, or to Wang's pawnshop, and pay back twice the amount at harvest time.

Wang was the magistrate—so there was no justice.

Wang collected the taxes for the government—three quarters of every crop grown.

At Chiang Kai-shek's orders, Wang's armed guards requisitioned horses, carts, pigs and cattle; or they grabbed dozens of young peasants in the street, roped them together, and marched them off to the army. Li Ming remembered his mother weeping when they took his oldest brother Kai, and the parents hadn't enough money to bribe Wang.

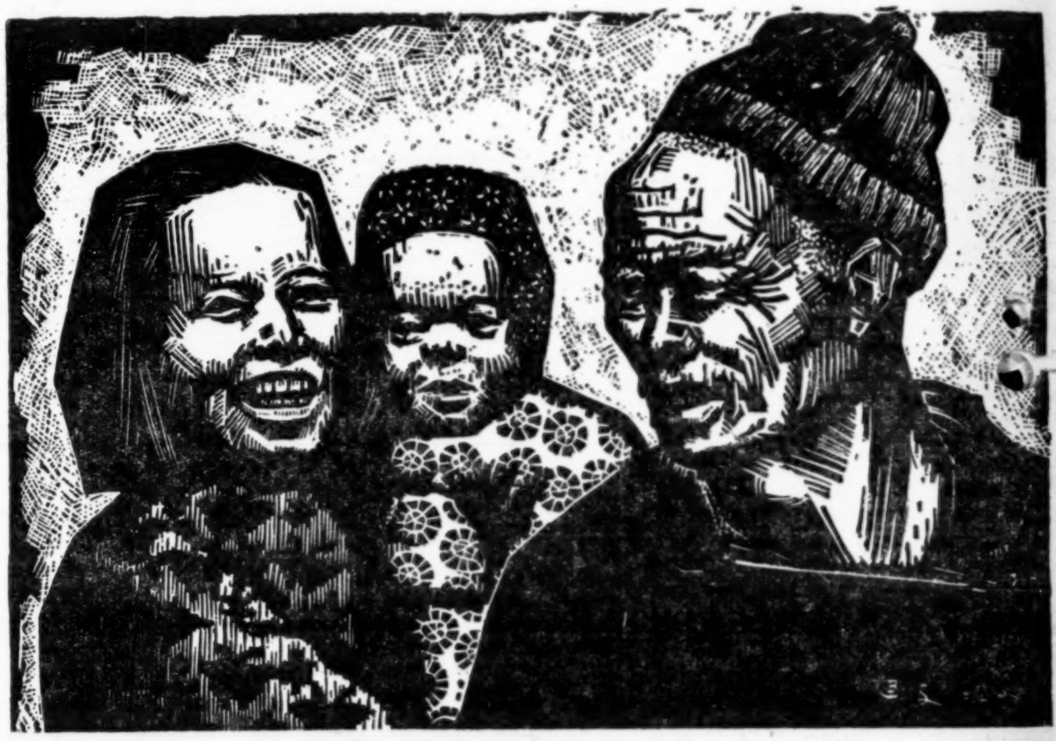
LI MING tossed around and recalled the Japanese invasion. They raped Mei and stabbed father to death. Big landlord Wang collaborated; he sold them peasants for forced labor.

At 14, Li Ming escaped from Kailan coal mines and joined a peasants' volunteer group. Three years they harrassed the Japanese rear. Chiang Kai-shek promised democracy after victory, but when the Japanese surrendered and the villagers chased out Wang and elected a village council, Kuomintang officials came in an American plane, reinstated Wang, hanged the council members, fined the village, took the men by force into the army.

Li Ming was trained and equipped by Americans, and marched from battle to battle, fighting "red bandits." They were Chinese; he didn't believe they were really bandits; in any case, they couldn't be worse than the Nationalists.

LI MING jumped to his feet, stepped over some sleeping soldiers, out into the night. Swift, light-footed, hugging the walls where shadows were deepest, he reached the gatehouse. He pushed the door. The gatekeeper and three officers jumped up from the table.

"What do you want here?" Lao Peng, his colonel—the one who



Farmer's Family by Tsai Ti-chih

## All Kinds

**Eric Wildman**, founder of a London, England, "society for retention of corporal punishment in schools" and publisher of "The Retentionist," lectured the boys and girls of Copping's School on his favorite theme. The kids responded by surrounding Wildman, holding him down and administering punishment on that part of Wildman where Wildman says it does most good. Says Wildman of his 18-month old daughter: "She is too young for caning yet, but I have some beautiful canes waiting for her in a few years' time."

•

Frosinone (Italy) jailers guarding radio pianist and wife-killer **Graziosi** were "bewitched" by his dulcet voice into asking him to give their daughters piano lessons; then Graziosi walked away and was last seen in "a great black Fiat."

•

On his recent European whirl, **Sen. Chan Gurney** (who was last week arrested for reckless driving in Oklahoma) met a delegate of the U.N. Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. "Where are you from?" Gurney asked. "Me? I'm from Unesco." "Great little country, that," said the Senator with feeling. "Did a fine job in the war."

•

"An excess of good American food is ruining my figure," said the **Dean of Canterbury,** interviewed in Seattle. "I hope to be home by Christmas — I miss the British austerity."

•

What this country needs, says **Dorothy Downs**, fire protection engineer of Gary, Ind., are more females to put out fires. "The idea," says Dorothy, "that man is woman's fire protector is downright old-fashioned."

**Mrs. Sig S**
most beautiful
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the world.

by
Ilona Ralf Sues

had never struck a soldier—grabbed his shoulder.

He snapped to attention. "I want to go home," he said stubbornly.

The officers grinned. Why must they grin before killing him? Li Ming was furious. "I want to go home!" he shouted.

But Peng put his hand over Li Ming's mouth and the other arm around his shoulder. "Shut up, you fool, or someone from the other armies will hear us! We're all going together — the whole 96th Army — over to the people's side! To hell with the Nationalists! To hell with Chiang and his American bosses!"

At daybreak, the 96th marched out of Tsinan in perfect order, bearing as gifts for the People's Liberation Army all the fine American equipment — artillery, tanks, truckloads of supplies, and as much ammunition as each man could carry.

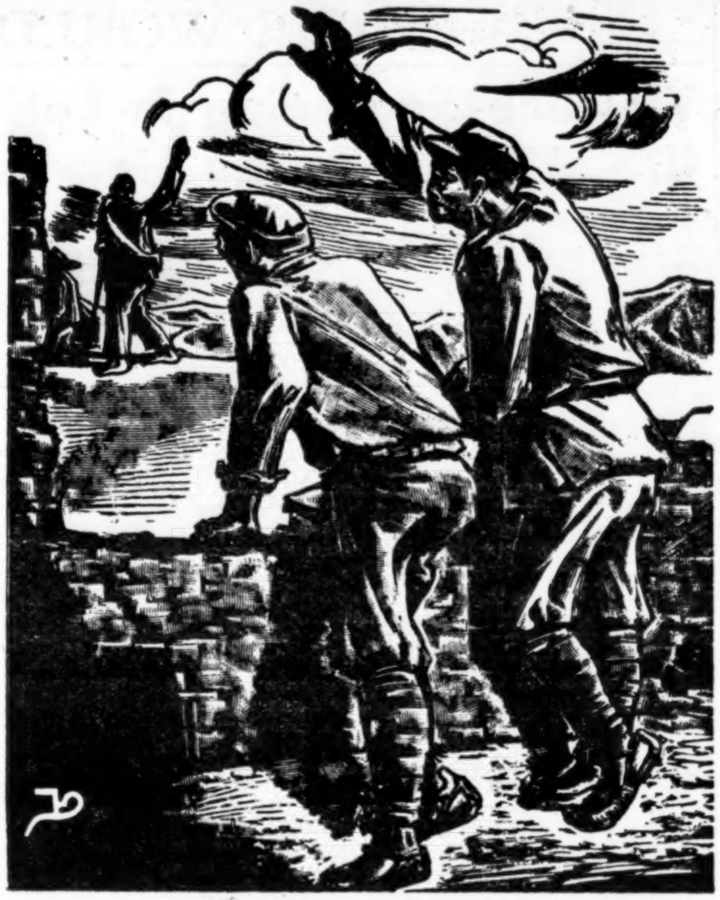
General Chen Yi's army welcomed them like brothers. They changed their insignia, turned their guns on Tsinan.

But Li Ming persisted that he wanted to go home. He swore he would never fire a shot again. There was no point in fighting. So they gave him a horse and some money and let him go.

IT was a different village Li Ming found in the golden glow of the setting sun. The People's Army had been in control for three years. Soldiers were busy helping the villagers bring in the late harvest. A long row of oxcarts was taking the record peanut crop straight to a cooperative oil pressing plant.

[illegible] here came his mother—not thin and ailing, as he remembered her, but strong and handsome in her new pair of black trousers and padded blue jacket.

She gave him a big hug. Arm in arm they walked toward the house, and she told him of the amazing changes. The People's Armies had liberated a good part of Shantung. The people had organized a Peasants' Union. They had elected a new village council, and she, mother Li, was a delegate; she had just chaired a meeting which decided to open a knitting and sewing circle for women with an adjoining nursery, for the long winter evenings.



Waving Goodbye (Artist Unknown)

Traitor Wang had been tried and chased out for good. His estate had been divided among poor and middle peasants; and his animals too, and some grain, and money. And taxes were now reasonable—lower for the poorer, higher for the richer people. And the tax money went to improve living conditions—had he ever heard of such a thing? They had a medical center where the sick were treated free of charge. And Wang's mansion had been turned into a school house—in daytime for children, at night for adults' classes.

Li Ming took it all in; he just nodded. They stopped at the temple—now a cooperative shoe factory for army and civilians—to pick up his two sisters. How gay and healthy and self-assured they looked!

AND when Li Ming had admired the new cow-shed and the enlarged pig-sty, and sister Mei had produced a delicious shoulder of pork cooked in wine and soy sauce, and bowls of steaming, fragrant rice and vegetables, Di-di, his kid brother, read to them the latest news straight from the new printing press:

"September 24, 1948—Tsinan has surrendered. The victorious People's Liberation Army under General Chen Yi entered the city this morning. The population is jubilant."

Early next morning, Li Ming saddled his horse and bid his family good-bye. He went back to Chen Yi's army. Now he had something worth fighting for. He fought at Suchow and stands now before Nanking. And he hasn't yet fired his last shot.

ILONA RALF SUES, author of "Sharks' Fins and Millet," lived for many years in both Communist and Nationalist China. Woodcuts on this page by courtesy of Chinese News Service.

s. **Sig Shore,** billed as "one of the beautiful women in San Francisco," lways dances with her shoes off, told quiring reporter: "I hate shoes more black and blue toes."

●

tain's oldest inhabitant, **Miss Isa-Shepherd,** died at 115 in a Flintshire al. She attributed her long life to having a boy friend."

●

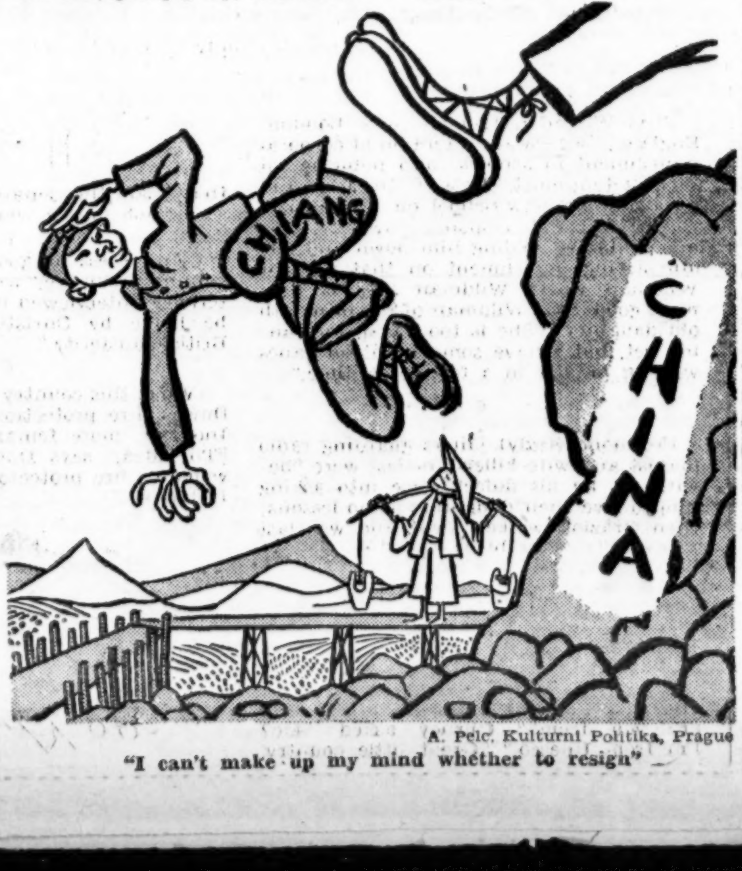
cketeer **Lucky Luciano,** who was de- to Italy, isn't making out so well and threatens to move on to Turkey. e better contacts there," he said.

●

ling down Main St. on a Chamber mmerce sleigh float, a Burlington, **Santa Claus** felt an uncomfortable ion around the ankle. A small boy rept under the float and set fire to users.

●

d in Berlin: World-famous circus **arl Hag[illegible]ck,** who captured wild s in Sumatra, Borneo and Indian s, sold millions of dollars' worth T. Barnum and 100 zoos throughout orld.



A. Pelc, Kulturni Politika, Prague

"I can't make up my mind whether to resign"

WEEK'S ROUNDUP

## The Captains Depart

IN the Palais de Chaillot in Paris the tumult and the shouting died. A weird hush descended as delegates to the 58-nation "parliament of the world," deafened and exhausted, closed their brief cases on Saturday night and started home for Christmas.

Opinions differed as to whether the United Nations was stronger or weaker as a result of the session. Secretary Marshall was "very much encouraged" by the "intelligent arguments . . . more to the point."

Soviet delegate Jacob Malik had had enough of "American fables told for the benefit of small children and big idiots."

Interviewed by an intrepid New York reporter in his mountain kingdom near the U.S.S.R. border, Abdul Wadud, 66-year-old Wali of Swat, said: "The United Nations? It is nothing."

**THE SCORE.** Achievements were a Declaration of Human Rights and a ban on genocide (mass murder) which — though the Soviets insisted it did not go far enough — was adopted by unanimous vote.

Franco Spain, the pre-war Italian colonies and South Africa's racial persecution were held over for the next session in April. The Atomic Energy Commission had been allowed to survive with its wings clipped. The Berlin dogfight was left undisturbed, with two different city administrations operating and the slap-happy citizens clinging to whichever of the occupying powers would feed them and keep them warm.

The race to rearm continued, proposals to cut armaments having been shouted down as "propaganda."

## Half the Earth

UPPERMOST in the homing delegates' minds was China. The impending Communist victory there meant that the Soviet bloc would be able to speak for almost half the population of the earth.

It meant either a drastic change in the balance of U.N. power, or a super-deadlock if the western powers recognized an anti-Communist Chinese "government" in Formosa or elsewhere.

**BALLED UP.** But it was reported from Nanking that, in order not to give Chiang Kai-shek "undeserved prestige," U.S. Ambassador J. Leighton Stuart had decided not to follow the Generalissimo when he flees southward. In Peiping, Tientsin and Shanghai, American businessmen were preparing to do business with the Communists and attacked help to Chiang as "making U.S.-China trade impossible later."

For Madame Chiang, the tea party to which President Truman finally invited her on Friday looked like the end of an era in her "hell of a life with the Peanut (Chiang)," as she once described it to Gen. Stilwell.

She had tried constantly to tell Chiang the truth which no one else would tell him. It cannot have been easy, as Stilwell commented, "to live with the crabbed little bastard and see everything balled up."

Now her desperate 11th-hour mission was ending in a White House snub. She had been kept standing in line while President Truman received New York restaurateur Toots Shor, a tenor by the name of Regan, and a branch of the "Baker Street Irregulars" which awarded a lantern to Truman for "shedding light in corners the experts missed." She even had to wait while former Rep. Maury Maverick of Texas presented the President with copies of "Alice in Wonderland" and P. T. Barnum's "Humbugs of the World."

**HUMAN RIGHTS.** The U.N.'s Human Rights Declaration defines the political, social, economic and other rights deemed essential for every human being: life, liberty and security of person, freedom of movement and residence, secret ballot, fair trial, freedom from arbitrary arrest. It also provides freedom of religion, speech, information, assembly and association; the right to work, join trade unions, be protected against unemployment, enjoy social security, own property, be educated, take part in cultural activity. These rights are limited by the "rights of others," public order and the general welfare in a democratic society.

The Russians objected to the Declaration because it

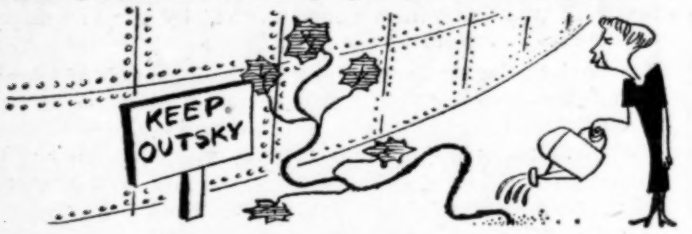
*Continued in wide column on next page.*

## WEEK'S ROUNDUP

*Continued from wide column on preceding page.*

imposed no limitation on the right to propagate fascism, aggression and international hatred. On their lost amendment concerning fascism, four countries voted with the Soviet group of six; on aggression, eight countries; and on international hatred, the vote was 19 to 19.

Eleanor Roosevelt, chairman of U.N.'s Human Rights Commission, said that news of the Declaration—which is substantially similar to the Soviet constitution—will "filter through" to the Russian people by a "curious grapevine."



### Human Wrongs

RIGHTS under the Declaration are, by Article 2, to be enjoyed "without distinction of any kind, such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status."

On the same day that it was approved, a N. Y. **Times** dispatch reported that Premier Daniel Malan's government planned to reduce South Africa's Indian minority "to their irreducible minimum." Extremist supporters of that government said: "We must force the Indians out of the country."

**"A KIND OF MURDER."** In its first four months of power, the Malan government has suspended deportation orders against interned Nazis; announced that war-internees would be eligible for compensation up to $80,000 each; undertaken to separate the races in trade unions; extended the African "ghetto"; made jimcrow universal on trains; moved to take away franchise rights of Africans (who now have three white representatives in a 150-member assembly); and introduced "Proclamation 1890," making it illegal for any organization to collect subscriptions from Africans without government approval.

These and other moves have been discribed by Right Rev. S. W. Lavis, coadjutor bishop of Cape Town, as "a kind of murder . . . with dreadful evils in view."

The government of South Africa faced a crisis because the Afrikaaner Party, led by Malan's Finance Minister Havenga, was fighting the move to deprive Africans of their three representatives.

In Paris, South African spokesmen threw out veiled hints of withdrawal from U.N. Said Eric Louw, Malan's economics minister: "Decent South Africans . . . are asking whether it is to South Africa's advantage to be a member."

### Arab Conflicts

**MID-EAST TURMOIL.** Israel's victory in the defeat of the Bernadotte plan had turned sour before U.N. disbanded. Her application for U.N. membership was shunted off until the next session, behind a barrage of American benedictions.

There was to be a conciliation commission, which would call on U.N. to enforce its decisions. Israel was ordered to free an encircled Egyptian force in the Negev, which would ease the strain for Britain's King Abdullah of Transjordan.

Following the defeat of Arab armies in Palestine, the

*Continued in wide column on next page.*

## THE WORLD

# Violence Spreading in Latin America—U. S. Will Reap the Harvest of Hate

**By Willard Young**

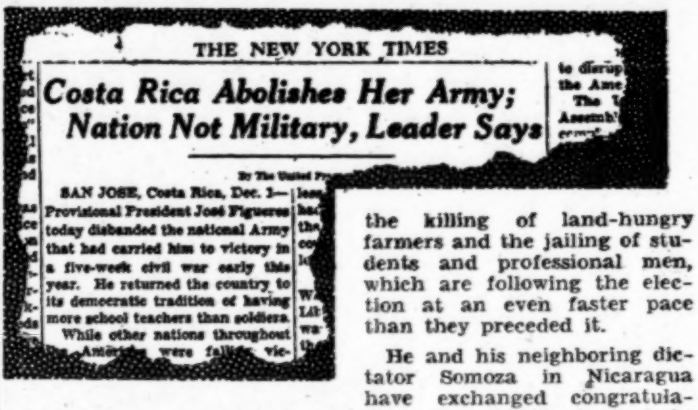
MEXICO CITY

A NEW era of violence has begun in the politics of Latin America — a setback to the struggle for liberation from U. S. monopoly.

Central American dictatorships are growing stronger. The progressive government of Guatemala, led by Juan Arevalo, former professor-in-exile of philosophy in Argentine universities, has suspended constitutional guarantees. This followed discovery of plans for an armed revolt centered in Puerto Barrios, Caribbean port through which the products of the vast United Fruit Co. plantations are exported. Among the plotters were some of the hodge-podge of professional soldiers who, after trumpeting abroad their intention of ridding Central America of bloodthirsty dictatorships, now stand on the neck of what was a model, if miniature, democracy in Costa Rica.

The rulers of Costa Rica, who marched into the capital under plantation owner and Acting President Jose Figueres after several weeks of civil war, have reneged on peace terms by closing the offices of trade unions, gagging the opposition press, jailing school teachers.

The first national budget they have issued halves expenditure on public education and triples that on the armed forces. For public consumption, the government has announced the "disbanding" of the army (see cut above).


THE NEW YORK TIMES

*Costa Rica Abolishes Her Army; Nation Not Military, Leader Says*

SAN JOSE, Costa Rica, Dec. 1—Provisional President José Figueres today disbanded the national Army that had carried him to victory in a five-week civil war early this year. He returned the country to its democratic tradition of having more school teachers than soldiers.

While other nations throughout [illegible] were [illegible] vic-

**CONGRATULATIONS.** Because of the defeat of democracy in Costa Rica and the threat—not the first since dictator Ubico was expelled—that it faces in Guatemala, the rulers of El Salvador, Honduras and Nicaragua sleep the more soundly.

From his ranch outside Tegucigalpa, aging Tiburcio Carias, who bossed Honduras—a United Fruit Co. preserve—for 16 voteless years, last month engineered an "election" by which he appointed his former Defense Minister Juan Galvez as his successor in the presidential chair. He is eyeing benevolently the killing of land-hungry farmers and the jailing of students and professional men, which are following the election at an even faster pace than they preceded it.

He and his neighboring dictator Somoza in Nicaragua have exchanged congratulations with Trujillo, boss of the Dominican Republic, on the overthrow of the legal government of Venezuela.

United Fruit meanwhile continues to shift banana production from Guatemala to the Dominican Republic—just in case.

**SPREADING VIOLENCE.** The overthrow by a few army officers of Romulo Gallegos' regime in Venezuela was not—despite ex-President Gallegos' statements to the contrary—engineered by U.S.-British oil companies; the comparatively liberal regime was so weak that the oil companies were already getting everything they needed. But it emerged from the first free—national elections ever held in Venzuela, and doubtless the oil companies are not sorry it happened. This military revolt and the one in Peru during October stress but do not complete the pattern of violence spreading over the Latin continent.

In **Cuba**, assassination of longshoremen's leader Aracelio Iglesias followed that of Jesus Menendez, Cuban sugarworkers union official and member of the House of Representatives. Menendez was shot in the back by an army captain who on the following day was congratulated publicly by Cabinet members.

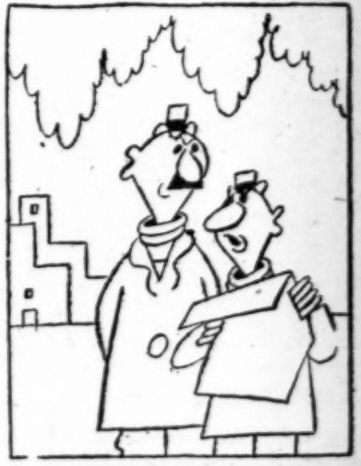
In **Brazil**, where the Dutra government rules with the help of a labor law that is a direct translation from Mussolini's Italian, two striking gold miners were shot to death by police a week ago.

In Chile, under the Gonzalez Videla government, several hundred teachers, writers and trade unionists, held without trial for more than a year in the Pisagua desert concentration camp, have started a mass hunger strike and appealed for help to the United Nations in a smuggled message.

**FORGOTTEN CHARTER.** Men and women throughout Latin America who greeted the Atlantic Charter and victory over the Axis as the promise of freedom from their age-old enemies—feudal landowners, the military and the Church in politics—now see other enemies: U.S. empire builders who back dictators armed by lend-lease; and plotters against democratically elected governments.

Latin American industrialists seeking to protect domestic markets and to withhold their countries' raw materials from U.S. monopoly; trade unions knowing that pressure on democratic governments from abroad can lead to armed attacks on labor; the mass of the people who are struggling with monopoly's unslakeable thirst for profits: these are the forces in Latin America that wait to join in any U.S. stand for peace and an increasing measure of freedom.

Failing that, current violence in Latin America may lead to inclusion of the U.S. in the harvest of hatred that will be reaped.



El Popular, Mexico City

"Venezuela's having elections."
"What, again?
"Yes—till the right wing wins."

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# The Education of Pham Chi Doc

*(In Indo-China, French Far Eastern colony occupied by the Japanese during the war, the new people's republic of Viet-Nam is fighting U.S.-armed French troops and at the same time conducting one of the greatest educational campaigns in history).*

HA-DONG,
Viet-Nam Republic

THE pupil at the unfamiliar trestle table laboriously traced a sentence. The pencil was blunt, and he sighed, but continued doggedly. At last, triumphantly, he handed in his paper. He, old Pham Chi Doc, could read and write—after being illiterate for 90 years.

There are others older than Pham in the new schools of Viet-Nam, quietly accomplishing an educational miracle. Three years ago, illiteracy in the country topped 80%. An official French report in 1941 recorded one school for 3,245 inhabitants, one teacher for every 1,382. Only one child in 44 ever saw the inside of a classroom.

Two million died in the 1944-45 famine, trade and industry were at a standstill. Bombs wrought devastation; but the floods out-did the bombs. Education costs money: the treasury was empty. Most school buildings were destroyed, the rest commandeered by the military. No teachers, no textbooks, and a new war against the French.

Times were hard; but a passion for literacy swept the country. No paper? They wrote in the sand, the dust, on leaves. Blackboards? Doors, steamy windows, tree-trunks and asphalt roads. Chalk and coal took the place of pens and pencils. Buffalo-keepers wrote in mud on their animals' backs. Husbands taught wives, children parents. Workers learned at the bench, soldiers in the firing-line.

Eighty thousand volunteered to teach, and in ten months held 60,000 classes of 21 two-hour lessons each. The people sang as they learned: "'I' and 't' are like a fishing-hook," warbled Pham, "but 'i' is short and has a point, while 't' is longer and has a bar."

With literacy now approaching 50%, the chief problem is reading matter for the new literates. Wall-newspapers flourish, and every village has its free reading-room and library. Regional committees issue special material, conferences discuss the next steps to be taken. Primary education only has so far been tackled, but further education is now being prepared.

They are doing an almost incredible job in Viet-Nam; and old Pham is doing his share. He hastens from the schoolroom, a cover-less, much-thumbed primer clasped in his hand.

Where is he off to? "Why, monsieur, to teach my wife to read!"

## THE WORLD

W.E.B. Du Bois

# Black Africa Fights Back

WANT
LAND
HOUSES

South Africans demonstrating for land on which they can build their own houses.

WHAT is the reaction of Black Africa to European schemes for exploiting their land? Are the natives simply stolid and dumb, submitting without protest or comprehension of their plight?

That is the complacent belief of most of the white world. The facts belie it, but the facts either are not cabled or if wired, not printed.

The situation is clear: in South and East Africa, the land has been taken from the natives and then they are taxed to compel them to work on the plantations or in the mines. In West Africa, the native has his land, but is ruled by white governors; "indirect rule" leaves local government in the hands of the chiefs, but the governor can remove these chiefs and pays their salaries. Thus his commissioners rule the rulers.

White settlers all over Africa are working for white supremacy in industry and government; big business is striving for monopoly of natural resources and control of labor; alien racial groups are demanding the privileges of whites: a native intelligentsia is demanding Africa for Africans.

**50,000 STRIKE.** What now is the rank and file of the workers thinking and doing? In South Africa have occurred at least 20 riots and disturbances varying from the student strike at Lovedale to the burning of their passes by 7,000 natives at Capetown, and culminating in the strike of 50,000 Negro miners in August, 1946, to obtain a wage of $2 a day instead of the 45 cents they are receiving.

Five strikers were killed by the police, 62 arrested for breach of contract and conspiracy, 46 of whom were heavily fined or jailed. Raids and arrests continued for a month, including arrests of some liberal whites. "Communism" was blamed for the outbreak.

**"REDS" ALL OVER.** In West Africa, there were serious disturbances in Nigeria and on the Gold Coast. In Nigeria, in 1944, increased government allowances were granted white civil servants but not allowed for Negroes. Consequentially, in 1945, a general strike of 150,000 non-clerical workers was declared and this eventually brought a 50 per cent increase in wages. Later there were further strikes of electrical workers, metal workers, and employees of the United Africa Company.

On the Gold Coast, strikes finally assumed the aspect of civil war. In 1946 a commission found that the cost of living had gone up 200 per cent. Wage increases were recommended for government employees and teachers. When railway workers and miners asked for raises and they were refused, they struck and gained their demands after several weeks.

**BATTLESHIPS!** Then came a colonywide boycott, led by a progressive chief, against high prices charged by importing concerns. A price control commission was set up to curb prices and ordered them reduced by 33⅓ per cent.

The demobilized soldiers thereupon started a march to the Governor to present a petition. There ensued a skirmish with the police, rioting and looting in which 26 Africans were killed and 277 wounded including 15 whites. Many prominent black leaders were arrested and kept in jail.

Black soldiers of the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone and Nigeria refused to bear arms against their fellow-soldiers, and white units in Gibraltar were alerted. Two battleships were ordered from South Africa. Finally the Governor appealed to the chiefs and to London. A London commission of inquiry was sent out; its report lays much blame on the colonial government.

In 1947, a railway strike of 12,000 workers crippled the whole transport system of French West Africa. The strikers demanded "equal pay for equal work."

**UNIONS GROWING.** Northeast Africa has had strikes. In March, 1947, 500 dock workers struck at Port Sudan; in July, 19,000 railway workers at Atbara walked off the job; in Ethiopia, 5,000 railway employees refused to work until the Emperor granted a 25 per cent increase. Recently in Eritrea, revolt against return of the colony to Italy has been suppressed by English tanks.

These strikes and many others show the growth of trade union militancy in Africa. In most of the territories there is legislation to permit trade unions, but in many cases, as in East Africa, it is on paper rather than actually in force. No African in Northern Nigeria, for instance, is a member of a trade union. Although in the Union of South Africa there are 129 native trade unions claiming 160,000 members, these unions are not officially recognized; however, some effort was being made to that end before the last election.

**FULFILL THE CHARTER.** The most significant occurrence in the African labor world was the representative character of the Africans at the World Trade Union Conference in 1945. Colonial delegates came from many Negro communities in America as well as from Nigeria, Gold Coast, Sierra Leone and Gambia in West Africa.

Wallace Johnson of West Africa, newly released by the British Government after five and a half years imprisonment in exile for trade union activity, presented a "charter of labor" for the colonies, demanding: the abolition of racial discrimination in public and private employment, forced labor and child labor, flogging and punishment for breach of labor contract, and caste law legislation; the right of free assembly, free speech, free press and free movement; and "equal pay for equal work irrespective of race, color, creed or sex."

In a telegram to the Big Three concerning the Atlantic Charter, colored delegates insisted that it be made clear that they supported the demand of the colonial people for the right to choose the form of government under which they would live.

## WEEK'S ROUNDUP

*Continued from wide column on preceding page.*

whole Arab Middle East was in turmoil. In Syria there were fatal clashes between the people and the army, martial law was proclaimed, and Jamil Mardam's government collapsed. In Egypt, students tossed a hand-grenade at Cairo's chief of police, Selim Zaki Pasha, and blew him to pieces. Zaki Pasha was an old collaborator with Brigadier Clayton of British Intelligence, whose visits to Egypt have always been followed by jailing of liberals and trade unionists as "red plotters."

**ANTI-ABDULLAH.** Palestine defeats were being used by Arab governments to cover up deeper conflicts. The people were perturbed by King Abdullah's dream of a "Greater Syria" comprising Transjordan, Palestine, Iraq, Syria and the Lebanon.

Syria had a taste of free republicanism under the French League of Nations mandate. Though overwhelmingly Moslem, Syrians took as dim a view of a monarchy under Abdullah as did the Christian Lebanese.

• While U.S. oil chiefs in Cairo, fresh from a visit with King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia, planned a new pipeline to the Mediterranean and to "hire 40 Egyptian technicians on an experimental basis," the Israelis drafted a constitution combining aspects of the French, British and American forms of government. The draft drew no distinction between Jews and Arabs, provided facilities for Arabs to use their language at all times, and abolished the death penalty.

**THE WRONG ROAD.** Two American comments on foreign policy drew attention as the U.N. session ended. James P. Warburg, banker, told the Council on World Affairs at Providence, R. I.:

"The real crisis we face lies not in Berlin but in Washington . . . Today our policy is directed primarily against a country and against a doctrine. It is less and less concerned with the elimination of hunger, poverty, desperation and chaos. We are on the wrong road." Communism, he said, could not be stopped by physical force.

Former Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles wrote in his syndicated column: "It might not be amiss to ask whether we wish our policy to contribute to the growth of U.N. . . . or whether we wish this government to use the U.N. merely as an instrument to advance our own ends."

## Supreme Court Boner

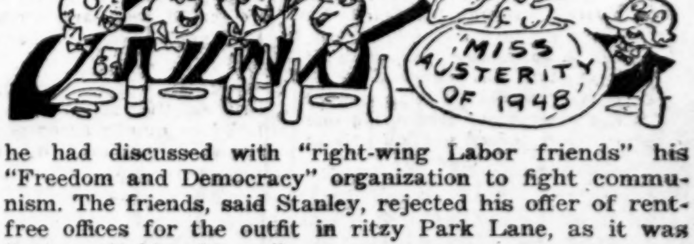
THE political earthquake in China was giving new hope to the millions throughout the Far East, and making the colonial powers' foothold more and more precarious.

**SOULS SEARCHED.** Adding fuel to the Far Eastern fire was U. S. policy in Japan. In Washington, the proposal to decentralize Japanese industry was abandoned after "months of soul-searching," on the ground that Gen. MacArthur had already done it. The Supreme Court agreed to review the death sentences on top Japanese war criminals—a verdict of the International Military Tribunal over which, it was pointed out, no U. S. court had legal jurisdiction.

**LOST CRUSADERS.** England's gamy bribery investigation reached its climax when John W. Belcher, Parliamentary Secretary of the Board of Trade, admitted on the stand accepting "gifts incompatible with his position," and resigned his post.

Earlier, Sidney Stanley, the big-time operator who passed out most of the gifts, had told of giving a box of cigars to Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin at a Grosvenor House dinner.

"I didn't ask him," said Stanley, "to declare war on anybody for it." But at another pumpkinish dinner-party he had discussed with "right-wing Labor friends" his "Freedom and Democracy" organization to fight communism. The friends, said Stanley, rejected his offer of rent-free offices for the outfit in ritzy Park Lane, as it was "not a suitable address."



As the investigation drew to a close it looked as if Stanley in England, like Thomas in America, was a general whom the anti-communist crusade would have to do without.

# LIVING & LEISURE

## DOLLAR STRETCHER

### Icebox Time

HUSH-HUSH price-cutting of household appliances recently reported here has now spread to refrigerators. Some of the smaller stores are now offering as much as 20% off on the price fixed for nationally-advertised brands. The slump in Christmas sales from last year's volume is forcing them to unload their inventories to get cash.

More publicly, Sears Roebuck stores have announced price reductions of 2 to 10% on their own brand **Coldspot** refrigerators, one of the better values available nationally.

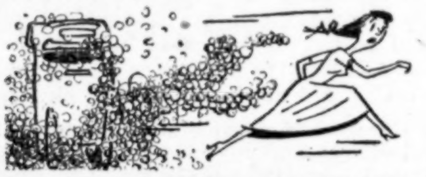
If you're planning to buy a refrigerator anyway, this might be a good chance to get a sizable discount before the usual Spring demand discourages price-cutting; and before the demands of the rearmament program begin to limit the availability of steel for large household appliances. Only the smaller-size boxes now are in short supply and still commanding full prices.

When buying a refrigerator, remember that you'll get best value in the standard or utility models in each line. These have the same basic specifications as the deluxe models, but without the extra (and not anyway very useful) trimmings. And they sell for as much as $50 less.

### Sudsier Suds

SYNTHETIC detergents are more efficient than soap in hard water. In any water they are more satisfactory for dishes (they leave no soapy film) and for woolens (they don't dry up the oils in wool). But they don't wash cottons and heavily-soiled clothing as well as traditional soap powders.

New synthetic detergents on the market help make up this deficiency by adding so-called "builders" to their content. The builders help remove dirt and neutralize acidity in soiled clothing. You may have noticed this new group in the stores. They include **Fab, Tide** and **Surf.** They're heavier than the earlier synthetics and produce thicker suds.



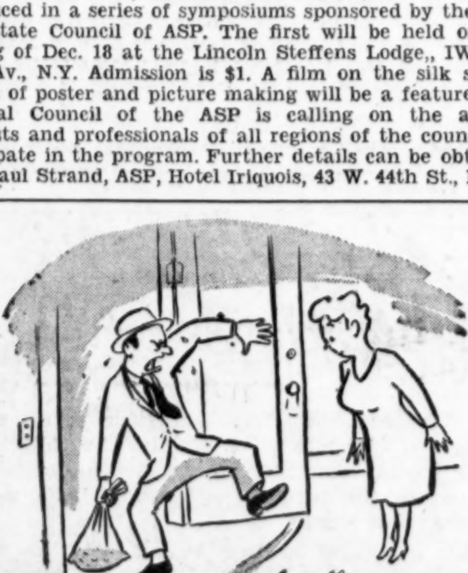
Another effective combination especially engineered for automatic washers is **Soapthetic**, a combination of soap and synthetic that offers the washability of the former and the free characteristics of the latter.

### 25-cent Books

ALONG with romances, westerns and what the detective fiction trade calls "dick fic," the 25c book publishers put out titles of lasting interest and value. Many of us hear about these but never find them in stock at our local candy stores. The Book Mail Service, Dept. 14, Hempstead, N.Y., has about 100 of the better pocket books in stock. These are available at the regular price of 25c, with an extra charge of five cents a book for orders of less than four. Among the titles offered are John Hersey's **Hiroshima,** Howard Fast's **Citizen Tom Paine** and **Freedom Road,** Richard Wright's **Uncle Tom's Children** and many of the classics.

### *ASP Cultural Exchange*

A PROGRAM of cultural exchanges between the U.S. and countries of Europe is being launched by the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions. It will be introduced in a series of symposiums sponsored by the New York State Council of ASP. The first will be held on the evening of Dec. 18 at the Lincoln Steffens Lodge,, IWO, 77 Fifth Av., N.Y. Admission is $1. A film on the silk screen process of poster and picture making will be a feature. The National Council of the ASP is calling on the artists, scientists and professionals of all regions of the country to participate in the program. Further details can be obtained from Paul Strand, ASP, Hotel Iriquois, 43 W. 44th St., N.Y.C.



**"Wise guy bus driver—I gave him a $20 bill!"**

## *Is Leonia a Satellite State?*

# They Vote the Single-Slate Way

LEONIA, N. J.

WHILE 200 per cent Americans slam the eastern European countries for their "undemocratic" single-slate voting systems, a basically similar system has been working very successfully for years in this New Jersey community of 7,000 people.

At first glance Leonia's "political machine" might make Boss Hague or Boss Kelly turn green with envy. Meeting behind closed doors in advance of each local election, the machine selects all candidates for borough offices, campaigns for them, and almost without exception elects them.

**DEMOCRATIC.** On closer inspection, Hague or Kelly would not like the Leonia machine after all. For the Leonia Civic Conference, as it is called, is itself democratically selected—four members each from the local Republican and Democratic organizations, the men's and women's clubs, and parents' and veterans' groups.

Any organization with 50 members can send a delegate; so can any 25 citizens who sign a petition. Each organization belonging to the Conference pays dues for each delegate. In 1947 the Conference's total disbursements amounted to $134.94.

The purpose of the Civic Conference is quite simple: to select the most competent candidate for the job, regardless of his party affiliation.

The local school board, for example, functions best when staffed with an engineer, a financial expert and an educator.

Ignoring political labels, the Civic Conference can maintain this balance in selecting nominees.

**GETS THE BEST.** Leonia is and always has been overwhelmingly Republican. It even joined Maine and Vermont for Landon in 1936. The result, before the Civic Conference was organized, was to deprive the borough of the services of efficient people who were not Republicans.

Also, it was found difficult to persuade busy men and women (substantially all Leonians are commuters) to fight a bitter political campaign for an office that they didn't want anyway. The Civic Conference took over the function of campaigning. It got citizens to run who would not do so under normal circumstances.

The Conference regards endorsement of two candidates for any office as a waste of everybody's time: there is one who best fits the job, and the Conference undertakes to find him. Yet it is completely democratic for the simple reason that, if the people do not approve of it, it has no excuse for existence.

**NOT SO RARE.** Leonia's "civic conference" plan is rare but not unique in America. Montclair, N. J., has a somewhat similar plan.

Agreed-upon slates have for generations been a feature of elections in eastern Europe. There, where a town may be divided, say, into 60% Catholic, 30% Protestant, and 10% Jewish voters, an election along traditional lines would be meaningless. So leaders of the three groups would get together, negotiate a balanced slate, and then go to the polls for ratification of their decisions.

The same plan was revived after World War II to achieve a rational balance among Socialist, Communist and Centrist parties in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Red China (over the protests of the U. S. State Department).

Most Leonians shudder at what they consider the denial of democracy through "dictated" slates which they read about in newspaper despatches from abroad; but they are practical enough to like the system very well in their own home town.

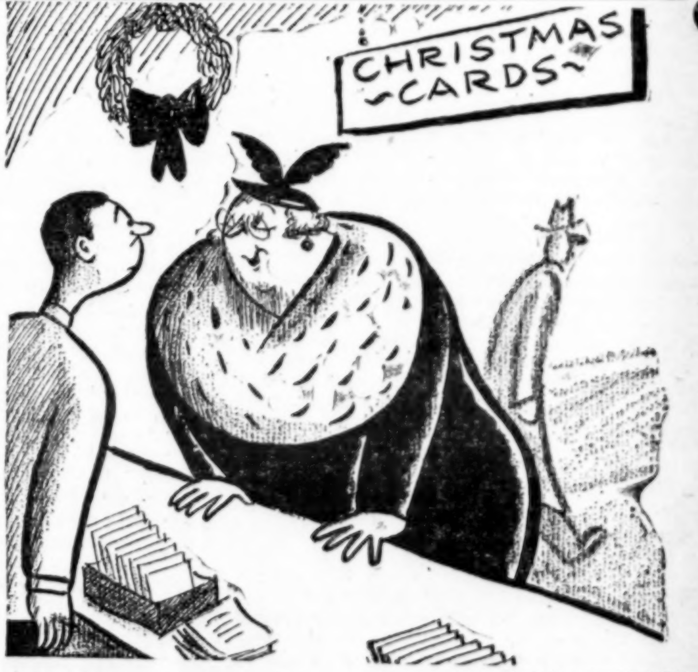
# Xmas & Jobs

"THERE should be no trouble luring housewives and young kids into part-time jobs this Christmas time."

That was the simple announcement that came out of the U. S. Employment Service a few weeks ago. Department store executives perked up with joy when they heard the news. The Wall St. **Journal** quoted one such store manager: "I think thin-stretched family budgets is the answer." The Labor Dept. predicted that "half a million housewives and students, eager for extra dollars" would meet the demand.

**RUSH IS ON.** Bloomingdale's in New York has reported that job applications are 10% above last year's. Male applicants who need the extra money are 25% more numerous.

For the last month 1,500 job applicants have flocked to Macy's every day looking for 5,000 jobs. Gimbels in Philadelphia says Santa's helpers are "easier to get than in any previous year since before the war." Pittsburgh stores report 3,000 job seekers to last year's 1,000. Yet despite the rush, indications are that department stores are hiring fewer than last year. A Los Angeles store has announced that it will use only 65% of the 1947 total. Others gave similar reports.



Drawing by Redfield

**"Have you a combination Christmas card and eviction notice?"**

For the past three weeks national department store sales have dropped 6% below last year's level. San Francisco's stores were running 10% behind; Cleveland's 2%; New York 8%.

**LESS TAKE.** For 11 years Christmas business has increased annually. This year, there is the likelihood that the Christmas haul will be less.

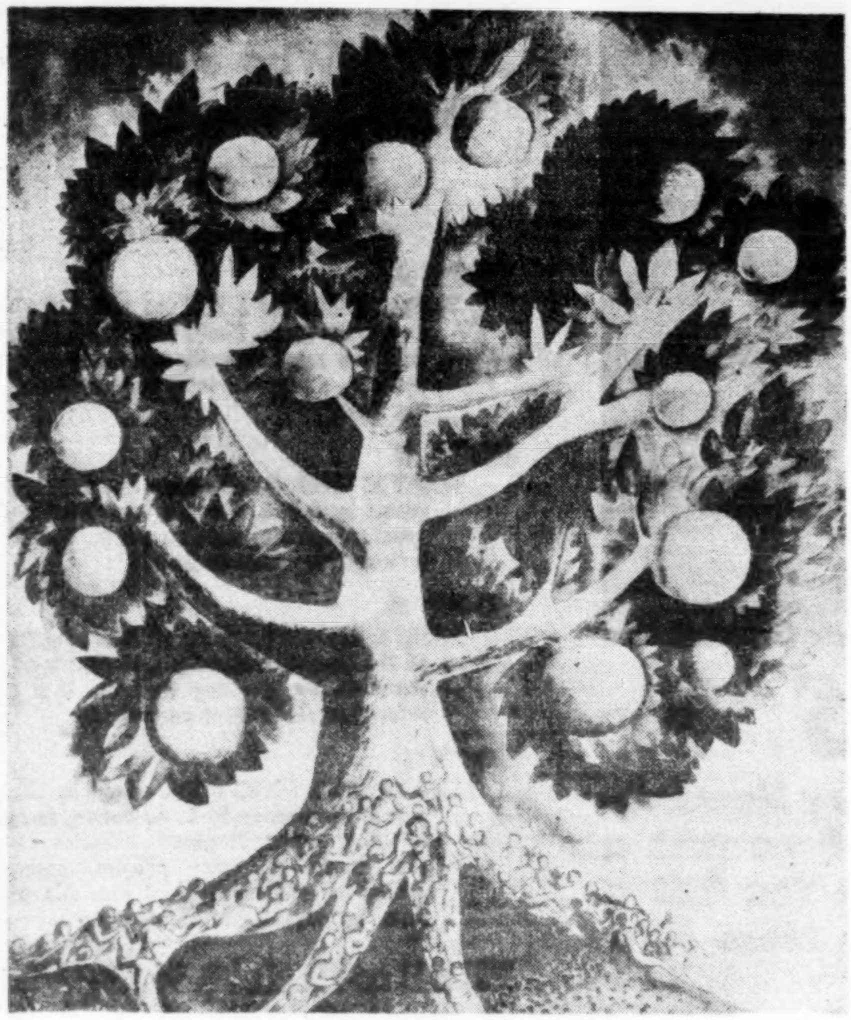
Businessmen searched for a reason last week. Reporters from the financial and trade press polled executives in 11 cities. Some looked heavenward and said the decline was due to "unseasonably warm weather."

A few said that people had gone back to the old "prewar habit" of buying at the last minute and that Santa would come through for them at the finish.

One whispered that perhaps prices were high. From the lines of job applicants in his anteroom you could hear the chorus shout: "Amen."

# A Faith to Free the People

**By Cedric Belfrage**



"... And hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth" (Acts 17:26). A chart by Lynd Ward to illustrate the "unity in diversity" of mankind — "like the leaves and fruit of a tree, no two just alike but all drawing life from the same roots." This is typical of the lecture charts used by the People's Institute of Applied Religion (Claude Williams, director), 4105½ Third Avenue South, Birmingham, Ala.

## II. Paris, Arkansas

> The Spirit of the Lord is upon me,
> Because he anointed me to preach good
> news to the poor:
> He hath sent me to announce release to
> the prisoners of war,
> And recovery of sight to the blind,
> To send away free those whom tyranny
> has crushed.—LUKE

*The only religion that was worth Claude Williams' salary ($2,500 a year) to the church officials of Auburntown, Tenn., was one justifying the social structure as God-ordained, keeping morality on an individual basis, offering the poor a chance of heaven in exchange for meek acceptance of their lot.*

*That was not the kind of message that Claude was now burning to give. As soon as he heard of a $1,800-a-year opening at Paris, a west Arkansas mining town, he applied for it and was accepted.*

*Paris was a typical small town of the Arkansas foothill country: a dozen streets wandering off to nowhere from a courthouse square. The Presbyterian church there had only 20 members; for some time there had been no pastor.*

THE churches of Paris, like those of Auburntown, passionately differed on whether a Christian should be sprinkled into heaven or pushed forwards, backwards or sideways.

But on one point all agreed. This was the urgent necessity of closing the pool hall.

With the people's immediate needs the churches did not concern themselves. For boys and girls reaching maturity there was no work. The miners, compulsorily idle through most of the year, tried to raise families on less than enough for their own bare needs, while the wealth they produced when they were allowed to work was shipped away on the railroad. On the plantations near by, Negroes and whites with their children rotted from exhaustion and want. But these were materialistic problems, and no concern of God's Paris agents, who had their hands full saving souls.

CLAUDE had a different God for the people, symbolized in the way he dealt with the pool-hall problem. He went out and bought a pool table and set it up in the unused wing of the Presbyterian church. For Claude and his God the problem was just that size.

The symbol set something in motion, and very soon Claude had a time keeping up with the program the people built for themselves around the pool-table God. The empty wing of the church became a recreation-room with boxing gloves, punching bags, exercisers, Indian clubs, playing cards, checkers, books and magazines. The empty lot adjacent to the church was turned by young volunteers into a playground for tennis, basketball, baseball and volleyball. Claude found $60 in an old building fund and persuaded the church treasurer that it should be used for buying equipment.

The old church members and the elders and deacons blinked their eyes. They examined the God Claude had whisked in there and they were not sure if they knew Him.

Certainly there were things about the new God that impressed them. He was bringing new crowds to the services and Sunday School classes, even if many came in through a poolroom. Pennies, nickels and dimes were clinking into the collection plate. And here were the young folk coming from other churches and from no churches to do all kinds of work on the plant for nothing.

THE services Claude conducted in the church were friendly affairs. He brought his God in and set Him down in the midst of the people there in Paris, Arkansas: a simple spirit of good, of justice, of laughter, of plenty, of love.

Claude preached from the Bible, but the old church members hardly recognized the book. He had gone all through it, sifting and sorting and re-evaluating in the light of present realities. He sat up each night till the small hours studying sociology and biology and economics. He kept his Bible on the arm of the chair as he studied, and worked out ways of presenting social and scientific truths through the familiar Bible stories and lessons. The task brought out for him depths of wisdom in the book which he had not suspected.

In the courthouse square after the services people would gather in knots, discussing the preacher: barber, druggist, blacksmith, sharecropper, butcher, youths shot out of school into a blank world, young daughters of miners, stooped old retired farmers, housewives with toil-hardened faces.

"Preacher Williams is too forward-looking for a small town," the druggist would say. "The young folks sure like him," said the barber. "He's a challenge to us, that's truth of the business," said a youth. "He can preach," said a lawyer. "He's preaching what folks'll be practising twenty years from now," said the blacksmith. And Claude would walk by on his way to the pool hall to talk to some of the miners, and everyone would smile as he went by and call out: "Hi, preacher! You certainly tell 'em! Keep it up, preacher!"

THE miners came to the poolroom, and Claude put no pressure on them to attend services. Then one Sunday evening Fred Howell, a heathen coaldigger, came out of curiosity in his ragged overalls and stood away out in the dark outside the church door while Claude was preaching.

The preacher was talking about the beginning of life in the world. There was absolute stillness in the beginning, he said, and then something started moving, and gradually over millions of years man developed. Science had shown that the Bible story of creation was not literally true, but there was truth in it.

"The truth is in the Bible because it's true," he went on. "It isn't true because it's there. And here is truth: Article One of the Code of Creation, of all animal life, is co-operation, mutual aid, brotherhood.

"The great sixty-foot armorplated ichthyosarus and the monstrous dinosaur were anti-social individuals and they are dead as the moon. Ants and bees and geese have sense enough to combine for their mutual welfare, for food. The gorilla and Hoover are fast becoming extinct. Civilized man hasn't as much sense as a goose. He tries to be an individual, to do without co-operation, and unless he gets some sense in his head mighty soon he'll die out. 'Go to the ant, thou sluggard—thou scab—and learn to be wise.'

### Pumpkin Propaganda

*"Would the Communists destroy the Bible (if Communism ever takes over the U.S.)?*

"Every copy they could find. And they would jail anybody trying to print new copies."

(From the Un-American Activities Committee pamphlet, "Communism and Religion," in which Claude Williams is called "an open-type Communist").

The fact: Only one country in the world destroys Bibles and jails people for printing them: "Christian" Spain.

"God is in co-operation and union. Organize! It's nature's imperative. 'The truth makes us free.' We must work together to discover truth. Together. Unified. Organized.

"'And he prayed: Lord, that they might all be one.'"

Howell told the others about it, and all week at the mine there was talk about Preacher Williams' sermon. Most of the men did not believe it was any more than words. They were ready to bet a day's pay to a miner's chance of heaven that this preacher would shy off like a scared colt when he saw what actual organizing of workingmen in a place like Paris meant.

BUT more miners than ever began coming to the Presbyterian poolroom, and over games with the preacher they sounded him out, to see if he really knew what he was talking about and how far he would go with it.

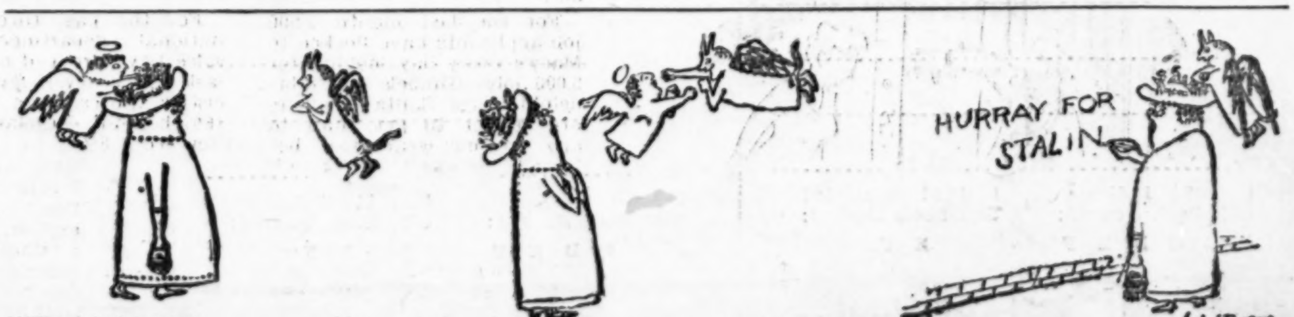
A hulking coaldigger said sharply and challengingly:

"You got plenty o' say-so, preacher. What we want to know is, have you got any do-so?"

"Listen, boys," Claude said. "I know what you're up against, and I'm with you teeth, toenail and cuticle. Try me.

"Get over the idea that there's something queer about a preacher talking this way. I'm a working man. When I talk of the Kingdom of God I'm really talking about good food and decent conditions for us all. The Nazarene fought for the good life for the people, and if I claim to speak His language, then I speak yours."

THIRD INSTALMENT
NEXT WEEK



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